JPRS-NEA-86-052

24 APRIL 1986

Near East/South Asia Report

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS-NEA-86-052
24 APRIL 1986

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB AFRICA

ALGERIA

Briefs
Tunisian Cooperation 1
Albanian Relations 1
Tunisian Delegation 1

EGYPT

Opposition Paper Condemns Police Mistreatment of Islamic Groups
(AL-SHA'B, 4 Mar 86) 2

Writer Assesses Mubarak's 8 March Speech
(Muhammad Hilmi Murad; AL-SHA'B, 11 Mar 86) 4

Commentary Notes Aspects of Support for Iraq
(AL-AHRAM, 14 Mar 86) 9

Commentary Praises New Air Defense System
(AL-AHRAM, 14 Mar 86) 11

Assembly Urged To Act on Economic Problems
(Sami Mutawalli; AL-AHRAM, 14 Mar 86) 12

Youth Construction Battalions Plan To Be Studied
(AL-AHRAM, 15 Mar 86) 14

Media Coverage of Police Riots Discussed
(Sami Dassuqi; AL-AHRAM, 16 Mar 86) 15

Muhyi-al-Din Discusses President's Warning on Democracy
(Khalid Muhyi-al-Din Interview; AL-AHALI, 29 Jan 86) 16

SUDAN

Libyan Recruitment Campaign, Revolutionary Committees Viewed
(AL-DUSTUR, 20 Mar 86)..... 27

TUNISIA

Government Treatment of Islamic Tendency Movement Discussed
(ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, Mar 86)..... 28

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

LEBANON

Shiite Leader Offers Gloomy Prognosis on Factional Strife
(Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah Interview; AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I,
30 Jan 86)..... 30

SYRIA

New Benefits Granted to Private Enterprise
(AL-BAYAN, 30 Jan 86)..... 39

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

Paper Reports Mujahidin Attack on Soviet Base
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 2 Mar 86)..... 42

Mujahidin Down More Soviet Helicopters
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 5 Mar 86)..... 43

Soviet War Losses Cause Strain in Relations
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 18 Mar 86)..... 45

Government Troops Confront Mujahidin Around Qandahar
(KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, 19 Mar 86)..... 47

In the Company of Afghan Mujahidin
(Kurt Peldey; ETUDES POLITIQUES, No 2, Feb 86)..... 49

Briefs
Children Killed in Attack 52
Soviet MIG Downed 52
Camp Destroyed 53

IRAN

Necessary Conditions Said To Be at Hand 'To Punish Aggressor'
(JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, 13 Feb 86)..... 54

Police Rescue Bazargan from Hezbollah Demonstrators
(London KEYHAN, 6 Mar 86) 58

Casualties in 1985 Estimated at 100 Thousand by Emigre Paper
(London KEYHAN, 20 Mar 86) 60

All Sectors of Society Striving To Boost Income
(THE NATION, 1 Apr 86)..... 71

Briefs
Statement Issued on UN Resolution, Gulf 73

PAKISTAN

Critics of Country's Foreign Policy Rebuked
(Ibnul Hasan; NAWA-I-WAQT, 28 Feb 86)..... 74

ALGERIA

BRIEFS

TUNISIAN COOPERATION--Tunis, 3 April (APS)--The recent visit in Tunis of a delegation from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries culminated in the signature of two memoranda protocols of understanding on the creation of two joint companies. The first one specialized in the processing and commercialization of sea products and the second one in ship construction and repair. The two sides also agreed to exchange specialists in the field. In addition, they decided on the creation of a joint technical committee. The Algerian delegation was audienced during its day by Tunisian Minister of Agriculture, Lassad Ben Osman. [Text] [Algiers APS in English 1019 GMT 3 Apr 86 LD] /12913

ALBANIAN RELATIONS--The president of the Albanian People's Assembly, Mr Pali Miska, was received today by the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr Kasdi Merbah. The president of the Albanian People's Assembly was also received by the Minister of Energy and Petrochemical Industries as well as the Minister of Commerce. [Excerpts] [Algiers Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 30 Mar 86 LD]

TUNISIAN DELEGATION--A large Tunisian delegation from the Destourian Socialist Party has been visiting eastern Algeria, in the district of Tarf to be precise, since this afternoon. The delegation is led by Mr Mohamed Triki, member of the Central Committee of the Destourian Socialist Party. The Tunisian delegation, which comprises about 100 members, will visit several socioeconomic developments. [Text] [Algiers Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 30 Mar 86 LD] /12913

CSO: 4500/110

EGYPT

OPPOSITION PAPER CONDEMNS POLICE MISTREATMENT OF ISLAMIC GROUPS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Mar 86 p 4

/Article: "The Ongoing Repression of Islamic Groups Continues"/

/Text/ The al-Minya University administration is still fighting to put a stop to Islamic activity within the university. Over the past 2 weeks, the university has witnessed student demonstrations condemning the university's repression of the students in the Islamic groups.

The week before last, when the groups presented an exhibition on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan, the university handed some of them over to investigation. Early last Tuesday morning a number of students in Islamic groups assembled to hold an exhibition on Afghanistan in the Faculty of Letters as well and were surprised when the faculty dean raised a protest against them, when we debated with the students over the holding of the exhibition, as the faculty does in the case of "loud dancing and singing" parties, the debate between them became heated!

The members of the Faculty of Letters federation of students, had won office through the National Party, attacked and cut down the banners and pictures the students had actually hung up, which led to the outbreak of a quarrel between the students of the Islamic groups and the students' federation and some faculty members.

The dean of the faculty called security group forces in to surround the faculty from the outside, prompting the Islamic groups to circulate in the form of a peaceful demonstration within the faculty. The faculty students joined them, repeatedly voicing cries condemning the repression of Islamic activity by the university and the government!

The university students' federation sought to reply to the groups' demonstrations. To that end it printed publications attacking the Islamic groups, which it distributed among the university students the following day. This lead to the provocation of the Islamic groups and promised them to tear up these publications.

The federation of university students members came together within a demonstration which proceeded to circulate within the university, repeatedly calling for the elimination of the Islamic groups, provoking the Islamic groups and most unfortunately leading to fist fights. This resulted in injury to the two students, Majdi Mahmud, 'Abd-al-Ghani and Ashraf 'Abd-al-Qadir of the Faculty of Letters, who belonged to Islamic groups, as well as seven other university students who were taken to the university hospital after being injured. The students who sympathized with the Islamic groups rushed forward within a peaceful demonstration containing about 600 students, repeating the cries of "We have risen up for the sake of God" "We are seeking to raise the banner" "We are self-sacrificers for religion" "Thenature of Islam is Islamic--neither Eastern nor Western. "They went about the various areas of the university, starting in front of the university administration building, then going to the Faculties of Education, Science and Physical Education in an organized demonstration, until the time of the noon prayer came, when they headed to the university mosque to pray. After that they emerged once again, to circulate in the various areas of the university until the time for the late afternoon prayer came. They performed that in the university mosque as well, seeking sanctuary there until 1700 hours in the evening.

AL-SHA'B's correspondent has learned that the university made telephone contacts with its president in Cairo and informed him of the events and asked the students' federation by telephone to inform the minister of higher education of the incidents, and ask him to set out a law assigning the university guard the right to break up demonstrations within university corridors. While the contacts with Cairo were taking place, five security team and central security vehicles and a large number of soldiers and officers set forth in a state of preparedness and readiness to the al-Minya stadium adjoining the university wall, far from the sight of passersby, waiting for the demonstrations to leave the university. Points were staked out for long-distance camera and zoom lens surveillance on the roofs of the mill facing the entrance to the university and the young people's house annexed to the university so that the latest developments could be transmitted by radio to the security director and office of state military security, which moved over to the site of the demonstrations although they had been following it along with other security agencies from their vehicles situated in the stadium.

AL-SHA'B's correspondent learned that the state military security office deprived the city of al-Minya of electricity three times in the evening to make it easy for it to arrest some Islamic group leaders in their homes.

11887
CSO: 4504/232

EGYPT

WRITER ASSESSES MUBARAK'S 8 MARCH SPEECH

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 11 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "What the People Did not Find in the President's Speech?"]

[Text] President Husni Mubarak's address to the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council was eagerly and anxiously awaited by the people after the destructive storm died down and the furor of the Central Security Forces was quelled. The president was to deliver his address last Saturday morning, the day the curfew in greater Cairo was to be lifted and classes were to resume in universities and schools. People were awaiting that address because they thought it would be a turning point in the manner in which government is controlled and steered and its shortcomings identified. People thought an effort would be made to eradicate the socially prevalent causes of economic and social provocation which induced individuals in the Central Security Forces to rally and rebel. At the same time these causes constitute the backdrop against which many people's hearts were filled with such anger, disgruntlement and tension that rebellion and uncontrollable behavior became inevitable in case of any emergency or unexpected incident.

This is not to justify mob reactions or irresponsible behavior, but rather to report on a social phenomenon and analyze it. Officials must neither overlook nor stop thinking about that social phenomenon as they review conditions and derive lessons from the painful incidents that occurred. They can thus deal with the root causes of such phenomena so as to prevent the recurrence of similar albeit not identical incidents in other sectors.

We should not be reluctant to speak truthfully and sincerely and say what we think out of concern for the country's interests and for citizens' safety. We should not dissemble, waver or cover up the facts because we are now facing "the moment of truth" in which neither duplicity nor a desire for vengeance is acceptable. We should not underestimate matters by portraying the incidents that occurred as short-lived incidents that someone had planned and that would not recur as long as we remedy those affairs that provoked members of the Central Security Forces and impelled them to violate the law. If we do that, we would be assuming that the Central Security Force was the only group in the country that felt the brunt of social injustice! Such an attitude ignores the fact that members of the Central Security Force were the last people that officials or

others would have thought could break the law because they are selected according to guidelines which guarantee that they will not take action or become disgruntled. Members of the Central Security Force are trained to quell any disturbances or violations of the law.

Although the president's address conveyed messages that are indisputably appreciated and admired, since they were drawn from the facts of the incident which shook the country, it did not, on the other hand, convey some of the approaches and concepts that rulers should have understood and learned from what happened in the recent events. We say this because we are sincere in thinking that President Mubarak is doing a good job in his esteemed position and because we are true to ourselves and to others.

Respect for the Law and Unimpaired Democracy Bring Gratification

Everyone was gratified and pleased with the approach which President Mubarak announced. People were pleased with his declared adherence to the supremacy of the law and with the fact that he set aside the emergency measures which had been invoked to confront the incidents. Everyone fully appreciated the president's belief that the people's contentment and confidence provided the best protection for the country from all kinds of rebellion and aggression. They appreciated the president's belief that democracy, multiple parties, freedom of speech and the effort to preserve the laws that are derived from the country's constitution were the best ways to guarantee security and stability.

Based on his observations of what had happened, President Mubarak thus rejected attempts made by some hypocrites, who are enemies of freedom and democracy, to take advantage of the situation by blaming what happened on the freedom of speech exercised by the opposition in its newspapers. Those people called for the elimination of that modest expression of democracy so that they could do what they wanted to do freely with no one to watch over them or hold them to account.

It would not be right to let that group of people use a variety of methods to ingratiate themselves with the rulers and continue practising their hypocrisy and voicing their venomous ideas. Although they failed this time to persuade President Mubarak and officials around him because the circumstances of the situation were obvious, it is not unlikely that they will succeed another time in trapping the rulers. Instead of doing something to complement and reinforce the existing democracy, they will put an end to the little democracy that does exist.

Dissatisfaction with Policies That Are in Force or with Existing Institutions

Contrary to what may be inferred from the president's speech, people refused to join the rebellious Central Security Forces, and they rejected that destructive protest not because they support the policy that is currently being implemented in all areas or because they are satisfied with existing constitutional institutions. People are dissatisfied with those institutions regardless of how they were formed, how they operate and how people who are affiliated with them conduct themselves. People did not join the destructive protest because they think that President Mubarak's democratic approach will correct existing flaws

and shortcomings which are distressing to them. They think this can be accomplished without resorting to violent and destructive actions which could bring an anti-democratic government to power.

Therefore, keeping people happy and joining them in solidarity requires a reconsideration of the economic and social policies that are in force and that people find distressing. This requires that democracy be complemented by a broader application of freedom of speech which should not be restricted to newspapers. Freedom of speech should be exercised on radio and television, and different parties should be able to present their points of view to the public over 75 percent of whom are illiterate because the government has neglected the effort to mobilize the people and eradicate their illiteracy.

Democracy should not be limited to freedom of speech and the freedom to disagree with the government's opinion. If democracy were that limited, it would be flawed. Democracy must be complemented so that citizens have the right to elect their representatives to legislative assemblies freely and confidently. Citizens should also have the right to elect the rulers who assume the reins of power. Political parties should be able to assume power in accordance with the wishes of the people, who are the source of all power. One particular party should not hold a monopoly over power.

Looking Forward To the Elimination of Political Provocation

This brings up the subject of what people had hoped to hear but did not in President Mubarak's address after the recent events. Chief among those subjects is that of correcting parliamentary elections. The use of party lists along with an absolute majority was introduced into local and central elections for the Shura Council and parliament. The rules for People's Assembly elections were amended so as to provide a proportional representation of parties in that body contingent upon obtaining a certain percentage of the vote nationwide. The government and the ruling party are still insisting on that method even though its failure to express the real weight of the different parties has been established. These rules have failed because they were especially designed to favor the aforementioned party. In addition, the government and the ruling party insist that gaurantees for the integrity and neutrality of the elections not be spelled out in the law regulating the exercise of political rights. This constitutes a political provocation for citizens who feel compelled to refrain from political involvement under the existing democracy because in their opinion it is not a real democracy but rather one that is ornamental and strictly for show.

People were also looking forward to hearing President Mubarak issue instructions for reconsidering the laws that are in force. These laws, which include restrictions on public and personal liberties, are the so-called laws of ill repute. Such laws are those which permit the political isolation of individuals, the Ethics Law, and the Party Organization Law, which makes the establishment of a political party contingent upon the approval of an administrative committee most of whose members are members of the ruling party, which is considered both adversary and arbiter simultaneously. This committee has sometimes hindered the establishment of some parties, and that is something which should be determined by the people in neutral and honest elections.

People were expecting the president, who had announced on the first day he took office that he would fight corruption, to announce that the government would close all loopholes for corruption and would not limit its efforts to the occasional trials of a few symbolic figures. People were hoping for an announcement that all exceptions would be abolished and that mediation and favoritism would be prohibited.

Where Are Social Justice Decrees?

If such a political, democratic framework based on purity and integrity is essential for the success of any effort that is made in the realm of business and production, then what people also hoped to hear from the president was an announcement that all manifestations of excessive wealth whose share of the state's financial burden is not being met will be eliminated.

A law must be enacted to impose taxes on the outward manifestations of wealth, on extravagance and on luxury when that income which makes such spending possible is unknown and is not subject to taxes. These manifestations of wealth may also be used as a means by which tax evasion can be fought.

A law must be enacted to impose an "emergency" tax on income and capital in excess of a certain amount during this inflationary period. After World War II countries did that, and Egypt too did it when it imposed an emergency tax on unusual commercial and industrial profits that resulted from the conditions of the war.

We ought to have mentioned the fact that importing luxury commodities and luxury automobiles should be stopped, particularly after oil prices worldwide fell and Egypt's foreign currency revenues declined at an annual rate of 700 million dollars.

It is inconceivable, Mr President, that those who spend their summers abroad would refrain from doing so simply because you called upon them to stay home, support domestic tourism and not squander the foreign currency we need for more essential purposes. Those people who can squander their funds in such a provocative manner made no contributions to the payment of Egypt's debts. Nor did they try to make any other contribution to any popular social action, if they had some objection to making a contribution to pay back Egypt's debts. Instead, travel abroad should be prohibited in deference to the circumstances which the country is experiencing. Egypt is not the first country to prohibit its citizens from tourist travel abroad, nor is it the first country to impose restrictions on travel abroad because of emergency conditions.

People were looking forward to hearing something about reactivating and reviving the Illegal Gain Law.

On the other hand, why shouldn't an alms tax law be implemented, and why shouldn't an alms tax be levied? Many people are paying the alms tax voluntarily; they are depositing those taxes in charitable funds or in some banks. Why shouldn't an alms tax be coordinated and integrated in accordance with the magnanimous provisions of Islamic law?

We should not forget to ask about popular housing, a subject that is stirring the ire of the new generation. What has the government done about public housing? The private sector will not invest in it, and the government cannot build economical housing on land it owns in such a way so that construction costs would not become a factor in determining the rent for each unit. Rent for these units must be affordable to people on fixed incomes.

The manner in which the limited number of popular housing units in the governorates is distributed is one that needs to be looked into by the Administrative Control Authority.

This brings us to the subject of the need to choose good people as leaders so they can be good role models. An announcement should be made that all those who are suspect and who are in leadership positions will be driven out of office. They will then make an effort to stay away from suspicious activities.

An Accounting for What Has Been Accomplished Is a Must

I do not wish to speak at length about everything that people said they had hoped the president would deal with in his speech. That speech could not have dealt with everything that we find unsatisfactory, even though it is the government's duty as a whole and the duty of each minister in his ministry to address such matters.

Although the president did remind everyone of the duties with which he had charged his government when it was formed last 4 September--that is, about 6 months ago--can members of the government be charged once again with the same duties without asking them what was accomplished in the interim?

We expect that what was not mentioned in the president's address is being dealt with in executive decrees and measures or is being complemented in directives and other assignments that will be forthcoming, God willing.

8592
CSO: 4504/250

EGYPT

COMMENTARY NOTES ASPECTS OF SUPPORT FOR IRAQ

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 14 Mar 86 p 3

[Commentary in "al-Ahram Opinion" column: "Egypt, A Country of Principles"]

[Text] Once again Egypt proves to all that it is a country of principles and not a regime of slogans, and that all its internal problems and economic burdens notwithstanding, it will keep up its support and aid to the fraternal Iraqi people in their confrontation with the Iranian aggression against Iraqi territory.

This clear and decisive Egyptian position, which President Mubarak reaffirmed when he received Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Cairo a few days ago, is not only phased tactical stand, but rather a reflection of a fixed policy based on the following mainstays:

1. Egypt is the big sister of all Arab countries and it is its pan-Arab duty to stand by any Arab country subjected to foreign aggression.

2. Egypt sees in the Arab stand toward this destructive war some positive aspects consistent with the text of Egypt's official position which calls for an immediate end to the war and calls upon the warring parties to sit around the negotiating table to work out a peaceful settlement. Iraq has repeatedly confirmed its readiness to end the war and turn to negotiations.

3. Egypt does not view its support of Iraq in its efforts to repel the Iranian aggression as merely a defense of Iraqi national soil alone, but rather a defense of the eastern flank of the entire Arab Nation. It believes that Iraq's continued steadfastness in repelling Iranian aggression safeguards Arab higher interests, particularly those related to the security, safety and stability of the entire Arab Gulf countries. This is in light of a firm Egyptian belief that Egypt's security is an integral part of overall Arab security in its true pan-Arab sense.

4. Egypt knows full well that preventing Iranian aggression from reaping the fruits of its efforts is not only in the interest of Iraq and the Arab Nation, but also in the interest of continued Arab and Islamic solidarity away from divisive endeavors that can only benefit the enemies of the Arab world and the Islamic nation.

There is no doubt that the Arab and Islamic peoples endorse the Egyptian position, particularly since it has become clear that this is a war without a purpose and its destructive course has become a game in the hands of destructive and murderous elements who want to keep our area in turmoil.

It is fortunate who want to keep dissented from the Arab consensus on this issue are those who dissent from consensus on various Egyptian issues. It has become incumbent upon the Arab Nation to take proper action to isolate them and unveil their destructive role!

12502/12951
CSO: 4504/239

COMMENTARY PRAISES NEW AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 14 Mar 86 p 3

[Commentary in "al-Ahram Opinion" column: "Well-Deserved Salute to Our Armed Forces"]

[Text] The successful tests conducted by our armed forces in the field of installing two new air defense systems, Nile-23 and Sinai-23, were not only a tremendous military accomplishment credited to Egyptian minds in the armed forces, but also a new phase in the full sense of the word. The concept of these two new Egyptian air defense systems is based on the idea of pairing artillery weapons and missiles under one system to protect field formations through an Egyptian plan managed from A to Z by Egyptian minds and hands.

Moreover, statements made by Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, about the success of Egyptian experts in refurbishing air defense equipment, putting it back in service midway through its life-span to be used for another 10 years, are also the best proof of the features of this new phase of Egyptian action.

The armed forces again and again prove that they are the vanguard that does not admit to the impossible. It proved that clearly in the glorious 1973 Battle of the Crossing, thus defying all military expert theories in the world. And here they are today, confirming that rumors circulating in some sectors about the lack of capabilities are nothing but a sign of weakness and deficiency which Egypt's armed forces do not acknowledge.

The refurbishing of military equipment at the end of its life span and the development of weapons systems solely through personal Egyptian efforts prove that the Egyptian armed forces are adjusting to reality and are aware of the enormity of the economic burden they are enduring, working to reduce their defense budget without harming Egypt's defense capability which is making progress with every passing day.

The truth is that the armed forces deserve all praise and appreciation for always setting and example under the most difficult of circumstances, in defying all difficulties, and for being the guard that safeguards the nation in the face of foreign enemies, and the ever-vigilant watchman against the enemies of democracy and stability.

12502/12951
CSO: 4504/239

EGYPT

ASSEMBLY URGED TO ACT ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 14 Mar 86 p 7

[Article by Sami Mutawalli in "Parliamentary Portraits" column: "Who Can Turn Words into Deeds?"]

[Text] I believe that when the president of the republic announces to the people from under the dome of parliament the existence of a public sentiment that has won his understanding and sympathy, the time has come to draw up elaborate plans to implement the ambitious reform program he outlined when he decreed the formation of a cabinet last September. In doing so, he places the government and the People's Assembly before clear and well-defined responsibilities toward the people, laying to rest the refrain that people have heard a lot and have read a lot, but who will do something about it our to turn words into deeds?

This is a fact of which every official must be aware so that the people may place their unwavering confidence in the statements and promises they hear, for confidence is the cornerstone of every edifice.

The president has made the entire population witness to the fact that he has once again laid before the government clear and specific tasks within the scope of his constitutional responsibility and has asked the People's Assembly to do everything possible in this session to carry out these tasks and make sure that the masses can sense their positive effect in their daily lives. This undoubtedly is the responsibility of the government and the deputies toward the people.

Perhaps our present circumstances underscore the fact that there is no room for procrastination or waste of time and no reason for hesitation or vacillation in making and carrying out decisions. In the interest of clarity, we ask the People's Assembly to abandon its traditional modus operandi at this stage and to emvark in its sessions and committee meetings on the discussion of prompt measures the government must put into effect in order to achieve greater rationalization of spending; to propose measures liable to remove all obstacles impeding private sector activities and investment in general; to bolster the public sector and liberate it from the restraints imposed upon it; to draw up an unconventional tourist policy; to reduce red tape;

and to discuss the composition of crops and utilization of new land as well as realistic solutions to the housing problem and other tasks the president has outlined as a government work program for dealing with the problems of the masses.

We are living through a phase that requires a national awakening that plows forward and never lags behing, that builds and lifts the rubble and that deals with all difficulties with wisdom and courage. It is a phase whose primary goal is to alleviate the suffering of the majority of the toiling masses. We must do everything in our power to bring in more income that can help us raise production and to concentrate our efforts on radical solutions to basic problems plaguing the people in their daily life. This is a national mission which every citizen must take upon himself and must be the chief concern of everyone. It is a long and difficult road. Egypt's stability and prosperity are being stabbed from various directions. Our fate in facing world developments requires the doubling of efforts and a defiant spirit. This calls upon all of us, supporters and opponents, to deal with the facts honestly and impartially, for incitement is futile, intimidation will not correct mistakes, and overbidding and oneupsmanship will not realize our national goals.

12502/12951
CSO: 4504/239

EGYPT

YOUTH CONSTRUCTION BATTALIONS PLAN TO BE STUDIED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Mar 86 p 1

[Article: "Prime Minister's Decision to Form a Construction Battalions Committee Chaired by Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah. University and College Graduates to Be Included in Battalions"]

[Text] Prime Minister 'Ali Lutfi issued a decision to form a committee to study the best way to draw on young people in creating construction battalions and achieving the great awakening under the chairmanship of Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production.

The committee will study an executive plan for creating the construction battalions and will propose basic elements for the success of this plan, the most important of which is a study of the idea of crediting to military service time served in these battalions. It will also propose public service plans and outline their labor needs, priorities and available capabilities.

The committee will be composed of Dr Yusuf Wali, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and food security; Dr Salah Hamid, minister of finance; Dr Amal Uthman, minister of social insurance; Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of reconstruction and new communities; Mr Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, minister of labor and training; Mr Hasan Abu Basha, minister of local government; Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, minister of cabinet affairs and administrative development; and Dr 'Abd-al-Ahad Jamal-al-Din, chairman of the Supreme Youth and Athletic Council. The committee may seek any expert help it deems necessary for the conduct of its business.

The committee will also study the matter of including in these battalions unemployed university, college, and high school graduates of both sexes and university, college, and high school students between the ages of 17 and 23 during summer vacation. It will look into the preparation, financing and outfitting of the necessary camps for these battalions and will propose technical, vocational and occupational training for battalion members, including the construction and maintenance of workshops and training centers.

The committee will study a proposal to scatter these camps throughout the country in light of the plans and needs for local units, and special incentive programs for rewarding and compensating battalion members.

12502/12951
CSO: 4504/239

EGYPT

MEDIA COVERAGE OF POLICE RIOTS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Mar 86 p 7

[Commentary by Sami Dassuqi in "Point of View" column: "Freedom of Feeding the News Through a Dropper"]

[Text] The British citizen sat before the TV screen watching the riots in Birmingham, that part of the city which was in total turmoil. Fires were burning everywhere and demonstrators were hurling Molotov Cocktails at firefighters, with dozens of killed and wounded falling victim in the turmoil, along with members of the solemn British police force that maintains excellent relations with the British people.

This scene came to mind when I was watching a similar thing on TV when the TV camera got closer than ever before to the vandalism that occurred in Greater Cairo.

On British TV, Radio London and the mass media in general, news coverage was the right of the people and an invocation of a British law called "freedom to obtain information." However, what happened on out TV was a response to the wish of millions of Egyptians expressed on previous occasions when a news blackout was imposed on local events while details were being seen and heard in world capitals. This is certainly a new media treatment of events in our country which has brought Egyptian listeners and viewers back to Cairo radio and TV.

And now, will the "Maspero [area location of the broadcast building in central Cairo] apparatus" or Egyptian TV revert to the policy of feeding information through a dropper which prevailed in the last quarter century? Or will it stick to the new policy which has proven its success during the recent vandalism which witnessed the germination of a new confidence between the audio-visual media and the people of Egypt? Perhaps the ministry that dominates Maspero's radio and TV would like to offer the Egyptian people a new Egyptian law for obtaining information as a right rather than a public service.

12502/12951
CSO: 4504/239

EGYPT

MUHYI-AL-DIN DISCUSSES PRESIDENT'S WARNING ON DEMOCRACY

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 29 Jan 86 pp 3, 6

[Interview with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, National Unionist Grouping Party (NPUG) chairman, by Salah 'Isa: "Khalid Muhyi-al-Din Confronts Official Campaign: We will Not Retreat, We Will Not Pull Back into Our Holes, and We Will Not Close Door of Dialogue"]

[Text] Even though the natural climate was sunny and warm, the political climate was thick with clouds demanding that the opposition parties shut their mouths, warning them of a serious and intolerant alternative, threatening them with opening the dossiers, describing everything the opposition parties say as ridiculous, and condeming what the opposition papers publish as vituperation, all without evidence backing this condemnation.

When I entered his office, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din was reviewing some topics scheduled to be discussed at the meeting the Central Committee held last Thursday. There were no clouds or storms in his office and he spoke quietly and confidently and with a calm and strong logic.

Despite this, I decided to carry with me the clouds of the political climate, and here is the outcome:

Government in Crisis

[Question] The regime has recently announced that it can no longer stand the opposition because it utters nothing but trivialities, seeks nothing but provocation, and exerts active efforts for no other purpose than instigation and sbotage. The announcement has turned into a campaign against the opposition. What is your interpretation of the campaign and what is your response to the accusation?

[Answer] I believe that this campaign is a logical development of last year's events. Last year witnessed a national popular uprising movement which began to escalate as of the onset of last fall and with the succession of events which began with the Israeli strike against the PLO headquarters in Tunis and culminated when Sulayman Khatir was found hanging in his jail. It is certain that this national popular uprising came as an unexpected

surprise to certain departments of the Egyptian regime and to the Israeli and U.S. administrations. More than ever before, a state of opposition has prevailed in Egyptian public opinion against the Type of relations binding Egypt with both Israel and the United States. The U.S. fighter planes' hijacking of the Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean came to reveal that the policy of full reliance on the United States and the special relationship with it had paralyzed the Egyptian government's ability to respond and this government was not even able to submit a mere complaint against the United States to the UN Security Council or General Assembly.

Along with this, the gap between prices and wages has been widening almost daily and the standard of living has been declining at a rapid pace. Consequently, the people's lives have become intolerable, Last year, the phenomena of group demonstrations and sit-in strikes resurfaced in a manner worthy of attention. All this means that the people are living in a crisis, meaning that the regime is also living in a crisis--namely the crisis of its inability to provide practical solutions to the people's problems.

[Question] But the regime, Mr Khalid, says that it is building and constructing and that the opposition is watching for the negative points only.

[Answer] The criterion of a regime's ability to solve the people's problems does not lie solely in the number of schools it builds, streets it opens, or utilities it repairs. There is no government in the world that does not build a number of such utilities. The criterion lies in the general social balance achieved by all the regime's policies. If 85 percent of the Egyptians are unable to balance their incomes against the constant rise in prices, then there is no place for claiming that the regime is solving the people's problems. If the outcome of the regime's policies is a further deterioration in the social balance and an intensification of the feeling that the regime's will is not fully free, then the regime must deal with the reality and acknowledge that there is a crisis reflecting itself thorugh spontaneous popular reactions to what is happening at the national and social levels. This inflammation is natural and this anger is logical, unfabricated, and unpremeditated. The events that have been taking place and continue to take place are provocative by their nature. The rise in the cost of living, not what the opposition parties say, is what provokes the people.

Strange Words

[Question] The government ways that the opposition exaggerates, goes to excesses, and tries to fabricate a crisis, and that it publishes false reports in its papers to mislead public opinion.

[Answer] These are strange words, coming from the ruling party which alleges that it represents the majority of the Egyptian people and says that it got 80 percent of the people's votes with which it won 82 percent of the People's Assembly seats. There are the opposition exaggerates, goes to excesses, and fabricates crises, then why do the people believe our "exaggerations" and not the "truths" announced by the ruling party, keeping in mind that this party owns the "real" information media, including the radio, television,

the government papers, and magazines, and has the majority in the People's Assembly and in the local councils whereas the opposition owns no more than a few papers with a limited circulation that publish only once a week?

[Question] It is said that the opposition's tackling of Sulayman Khatir's case was intended for provocation and instigation.

[Answer] First, I would like to see anybody prove that we in NPUG or in AL-AHALI have tackled the case in the manner they allege we have tackled it. They have what we published and said in front of them. The fact is that we demanded no more than that Sulayman Khatir be tried by a civilian court. Is this instigation? Does the trial of a civilian by a military court mean democracy and the supremacy of the lay? Does defending such a citizen's right to a civilian trial mean chaos, irresponsibility, and striking at democracy?

[Question] They consider this demand an objection to the military judiciary and an intervention in this judiciary's affairs.

[Answer] But the right to appeal against the judiciary is a constitutional right, as proven by the constitutional provision concerning the levels of litigation. The government itself has appealed against a court sentence obtained by martyr Sulayman's family for a second autopsy. Those who are writing this previously denounced the trial of civilians by military courts and published dozens of articles on al-Dajawi trials. I believe that all the people know who has interfered in the judiciary's affairs and who has tried to turn the case of martyr Sulayman Khatir from an Egyptian court case into a negotiating card in the Taba talks. Is the opposition to be reproached for rejecting the Israeli pressures engulfing the case?

[Question] It seems that some of what was published in the wake of the official announcement that Sulayman Khatir had been found hanging has evoked a degree of sensitivity, considering that the Israelis and elements of the Egyptian administration were the only parties accused of Khatir's assassination.

[Answer] What was published does not equal 1 percent of what is said in the street. The party responsible for all this is the government. The government could have, as of the first moment, assured public opinion that its story of the incident could not be refuted by any side. But the government failed to take the simplest step, namely conduct an investigation to determine the party responsible for Sulayman Khatir's suicide while the man was in a military jail and surrounded by a special guard! Why does discussing the possibility that the Mosad murdered Sulayman Khatir in his jail seem to be an act of provocation and instigation when such a possibility had occurred to the government itself. The government was even preparing, as announced recently, to confront any attempt to kidnap Khatir from his jail by helicopter! Those who instigated the people and planted doubts in their hearts--doubts that have turned into certainty--are the ones who opposed the court judgement obtained by Sulayman Khatir's family to conduct a second autopsy on his body. As for the opposition, it made the correct democratic demand, namely for the

formation of a factfinding committee to investigate the circumstances surrounding Sulayman Khatir's death. The opposition is accused of instigation whereas the real provocateurs are hiding behing the curtains.

[Question] There are numerous governmental references to the opposition's responsibility for the destruction perpetrated during the demonstrations staged prior to the sentence and after the announcement of the news of the suicide.

[Answer] But so far the government has not even issued a statement defining the dimensions of the destruction which it says has been perpetrated. Even though we are against destruction and even though we believe that this is being exploited to strike against any popular movement, we believe that the government exaggerates intentionally when it alleges that destruction has taken place. Moreover, the government contradicts the truth when it accuses the opposition of having instigated all this destruction or of having brought it about through provocation and incitement. The fact is that what has happened is a part of the general popular uprising that has emanated from the intensifying crisis. What has happened is not the work of the parties but of events. Every party has interacted according to its visions and its method of political action. Insofar as our party is concerned, this is an issue that we can discuss in broad daylight. From the outset, we have had our own visualization of the Ra's Burqah incident and we have had our distinct method of movement. Despite all this, all that has happened does not, in our opinion, exceed the democratic and legitimate right of expression. I don't believe that a demonstration comprised of 2,000 or 4,000 students can shake a democratic system or warrants a reconsideration of democracy. The problem is that the ruling party is unable to reach the people. At the same time, it feels that the oppostion is getting the street's support whereas the ruling party is not able to convince the man in the street. The ruling party rules but it does not lead, This is the ruling party's crisis, not ours.

Serious Alternative

[Question] President Mubarak implied in his interview with AL-MUSAWWAR that intolerance of the opposition may have reached some of the regime's agencies or institutions which are about to run out of patience. The president has also also warned that the opposition is pushing matters toward a serious alternative, a phrase which has drawn the attention of all those engaged in politics. What is your comment?

[Answer] What is important is to agree first on who is pushing matters towards a serious alternative. In our opinion it is existing social and economic conditions and the adopted and applied policies. If the limited democratic margin existing at present gives the opposition's activity and opinions broad popular influence, then the tension existing at present is not caused by the opposition by the government's policies.

The fact is that the sensitivity with which some state institutions or some players of political roles approach the criticism addressed to them is an

The fact is that the sensitivity with which some state institutions or some players of political roles approach the criticism addressed to the, is an indication of the weakness of democracy and of its need to flourish, not shrivel, so that all may realize that the constitution defines every institution's powers, acts as an umpire between the institutions and separates these institutions' responsibilities. These are concepts that must be respected by all. As for us in NPUG, we have not swerved from the constitution or the law. If those who are intolerant of democracy would refer to the constitution and the law, they would not find in them anything to justify their intolerance.

[Question] Some believe that the president's warning may cause the opposition parties to freeze their some of their activities.

[Answer] If the opposition refrains from expressing its opinion on the country's affairs to protect democracy from this serious alternative, then this means that we are protecting democracy by abandoning it. This is an impossible equation. I believe that all are aware that the main part of the existing regime's legitimacy is founded on this limited margin of democracy with which the official agency is annoyed. If this margin is eliminated by a serious alternative, then what will remain? Military and economic reliance on the outside world?

Democracy and Development

[Question] In the offficial analysis, democracy and partisanship have become the antitheses of production and development, and parties instigate the people instead of mobilizing them to work, produce, and solve the complex problems facing Egypt.

[Answer] This analysis approaches development and production as objectives suspended in space and connected to no time or place. The fact is that people do not produce and develop for the sake of production and development as such but to achieve a degree of social welfare for themselves, their families, and their country. A worker who produces wants to see the results of his production in improvements in the housing, medical care, education, and communication services he gets and in a balance between the prices of the goods, and services he needs and the wages he earns for his work. The way to urge people to produce is not by giving a sermon but by creating a social climate that makes work the basis of value and public welfare an outcome of production and building. Therefore, when we call for improving the toiling classes' living conditions, we are calling for increased production. When we say that the first step in leading Egypt out of its crisis lies in solving the masses' urgent problems, we do not seek to embarrass the regime. We say this because we believe that providing the minimum of housing and communications and tying prices to wages are what make the masses enthusiastic for production and development.

[Question] It is obvious that some government circles hold the opinion that the parties should perform service roles, such as organizing the masses to carry out sanitation projects, to build roads, or to do something similar.

[Answer] I do not exclude such roles. However, such roles are not possible within the of the existing democratic margin. The National Party is eager to monopolize all these service, not to perform them but to bestow them upon its leaderships solely, to the exclusion of the other citizens, including the National Party members themselves. One of our party's committee tried to organize an athletic contest among youth clubs but the government rejected the endeavor in order to implement the slogan: no politics in sports and no sports in politics. The political party's task is, in my opinion, to move public opinion in a certain direction--an opinion whose task is to put pressure in support of a certain solution or policy and against another policy. It is a task different from the task of the unions, leagues, environmental service associations, and other popular orggnizations. Party members are, of course, members of such organizations and take part in their activities. But parties are fundamentablly political, not service, organizations. Cleaning streets cannot be the solution to the problem of democracy.

Alternative and Capabilities

[Question] Do you think that the alternatives proposed by the opposition parties are practical? It is said, for example, that the alternatives proposed exceed the available capabilities. Moreover, one party demands abolition of the public sector and another demands abolition of the private sector.

[Answer] There is no party in Egypt that demands the abolition of the private sector or the public sector. Even al-Wafd and the Liberals demand only a reduction of the public sector's role in economic life. Our programs call for encouraging the productive private sector. The Nasirist development experiment in the 1960's did not abolish private ownership in an entire sector, namely the agricultural sector, or in other sectors of the economy, such as domestic trade and light industry. The private sector had a tangible presence.

What distinguished us from the others is that we demand that the public sector lead development. This demand is a stipulation in the constitution. This is, moreover, an experiment that has proven its success in all the Third World and backward countries. The sector whose containment, and then liquidation, we demand is the parasitic sector, which is an unproductive sector and one of the causes of the economic crisis. This sector is comprised of money changers, black market merchants, those who trade in cement and fodder permits, and political corrupters. This sector relies fundamentally on the system of importation without a currency remittance. It is this sector, not the private sector's role in imports, that we demand be abolished.

Pressure and Dignity

[Question] There is an official objection to the accusation made by the opposition against the government, namely that the government succumbs to the businessmen's pressures. There is an official declaration that the government does not yield to pressure.

[Answer] From a purely technical view-point, government is tantamount to balancing the pressures or calculations of the class and political forces. Even within the same party, there are various currents and opinions which the decision maker takes into account before making his decision. The ruler's acceptance of pressures does not undermine his dignity and does not mean that he is a weak ruler. Rather, this acceptance reveals the ruler's social belonging. To deny the presence of influential pressure groups in Egypt is to deny facts that have become obvious.

Else, why did the government rescind the January 1985 decrees? Did not this happen after pressures developed from within and from outside the regime--pressures which reached the point of drying up the market?

Why did the former prime minister back down and rescind the finance minister's decree on collecting customs fees on some commodities sold at the source in Port Said? Did not this happen because of the merchant's "pressures" and demonstrations?

Why did the government back down on its invitation to Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal to write in its papers?

It is normal for any ruler to be subjected to political pressures from the masses, unions, political parties, the various state institutions, or businessmen. What is prominent these days is the influence of the businessmen's associations whose pressures are accepted whereas they represent only a small segment of society that does not perform work with real production value. Meanwhile, the central security forces confront the student demonstrations demanding a fair trial for Sulayman Khatir or workers demanding the improvement of their wages. What calls for anger is not the accusation of submission to pressures but the actual submission to the pressures and the lack of balance in responding to the pressures emanating from the majority of the people and those emanating from the parasitic minority.

[Question] President Mubarak has addressed to those who speak of subservience a message saying: If there is no degree of shame to prevent you from describing Egypt or its president as subservient, then you better shut your mouths. Do you have a response to this message, considering that NPUG is one of the parties that say that there is subservience?

[Answer] We cannot shut our mouths because the right to talk about the regime's policies is one of the rights of citizenship and a right which nobody is entitled to withdraw from us because nobody has given it to us. The president reiterates this phrase on the grounds that saying that there is subservience means undermining his patriotism or accusing him of receiving instructions from here and there. This is not what we mean when we say that there is subservience in Egypt. The subservience is an objective reality. Even if myself became president and maintained the Egyptian economy's conditions as they are, there would be subservience. There have been patriotic leaders who rules Egypt while its economy continued to be subservient or semi-subservient. This happened with Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas. In the early years of 'Abd-al-Nasir's rule, the Egyptian economy

was a subservient economy. The process of its liberation from subservience began only gradually and was not completed until the late 1960's when Egypt's production was enough to meet the Egyptian people's basic needs. But now we rely on the outside world to get our food. Should the United States stop giving us food aid, our situation would be very difficult. This is the element putting pressure on the decision makers.

The most immediate example of this pressure is that the anger felt by the Egyptian president, government, and people because of the U.S. fighter planes' hijacking of the Egyptian airliner over the Mediterranean did not turn into a stance against the United States, because the government cannot take such a stance while fully relying on the United States.

This is one example. The other example is that Egypt has declared that it seeks to settle the Mideast crisis on the basis of the contents of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, i.e., negotiations through an international conference to implement all the UN resolutions, not just one resolution, because these resolutions cosntitute a comprehensive deal. Some of them, such as Resolution 242, consider the Palestinians refugees whereas others, such as Resolution 336 acknowlege the PLO and legitimate rights for the Palestinian people. Suddenly, Egypt issued an ultimatum to Yasir 'Arafat to accept Resolution 242 before the end of this month. Is this a natural development of Egypt's position or is it U.S. pressure? We have already said that Egypt's support for the PLO is a positive position. But will Egypt now stand fast in the face of the latest U.S. pressure to force the PLO to recognize one of the UN resolutions which does not include all its demands? What will Egypt do if Washington insists on solutions that do not include an international conference or participation by the PLO? Will Egypt oppose the United States when we live on its wheat? This is the question.

[Question] The official view, Mr Khalid, says that there are "national issues" on which the parties must agree and other issued on which they may disagree. The opposition is accused of not seeking any agreement with the regime, not even on the country's supreme interests.

[Answer] This accusation is groundless. There are numerous positions in which we have supported the government because we believe that they pertain to the country's supreme interest. These include, for example, the issue of the U.S. fighter planes' hijacking of the Egyptian airliner. The disagreement between us and the government lies in the fact that we consider the national issues only those issues stipulated in the constitution, which states that Egypt is a democratic socialist state and that the public sector shall lead development. This constitution also provides for democratic liberties. There are other issued which can be considered national issues, if all view them jointly as such. But what is strange is that the government wants to impose some of its policies on the opposition as national issues over which there may be no disagreement, such as the Camp David policy and relations with the United States. Meanwhile, the government acts on many of the truly national issues without even thinking of consulting the opposition. Take, for example, the consideration given to changing the relationship between landlords and tenants in both cultivable lands and real estate. These are bills that

affect a basic relationship in society. Yet the ruling party has considered and drafted them on its own, and we were surprised to see them before the People's Assembly. The concept on which this bill relies is the difference between the income yielded by a leased feddan and the income yielded by the same feddan if cultivated under custodianship. Those who think with this logic forget that land cultivated under custodianship is frequently cultivated with fruit trees, vegetables, and aromatic and medical herbs and that, therefore its yield is high whereas the small rent paid for leased land is compatible with the simple yield this land produces because it is cultivated with basic crops, such as wheat, corn, sugarcane, rice, and broad beans. These are priced crops. Moreover, 90 percent of the owners of these lands are absentee landlords who cannot personally supervise the cultivation of these crops.

Therefore, putting pressure to raise the rent beyond reasonable limits or to give landlords the right to expel tenants will culminate in an immense food catastrophe within 2 years because if these absentee landlords regain their lands, they will not be able to cultivate them with wheat, rice, or cotton. What they will do is to sell the lands or turn them into orchards. This is why we demand that a tax be assessed on the basis of the feddan's actual revenue. We believe that the government is trying to solve the problem in the interests of the landlords, not the interests of production and tenants. Such a course will culminate with giving real estate owners the right to expel tenants from their houses. Yes, the low rent paid to the owners of old houses must be raised because of the constant rise in prices. But this is one thing and establishing the agricultural landlord's and the real estate owners a right o expel the tenent is another, and more dangerous, thing.

This is a national issue that should have been discussed with the parties, the unions, and the peasant organizations. But the government has not tried to reach agreement with us or with others on the ideal solution.

In any case, we do not acknowledge that there are issued beyond the sphere of disagreement. Everything is subject to disagreement and to dialogue, including the national issues.

Those Who Rejected the Front

[Question] Last year, more than one idea was expressed on the importance of the presence of some sort of national agreement on categorizing all the crisis engulfing Egypt and on the presence of minimum agreement on the means to solve them. These ideas were expressed in the plans for a national front or for a coalition cabinet. What is NPUG's response to these ideas?

[Answer] Since its founding, our party was one of the first parties to project mature and principled ideas on the national front and on front-type action. In our main program, we called for a front whose long-range objective is to bring about the democratic national revolution with a social content. We then called for a broader front to achieve a speedier objective, namely "national salvation." We did not set a socialist objective for this front and did not include the achievement of fundamental changes as one of its tasks. We simply set its task as that of achieving national and economic

independence and modifying the open-door economic policy. We did not even set as one of its objectives the immediate abolition of the Camp David accords but the mere suspension of the normalization with Israel and commitment to defend the Arab countries subjected to Israeli aggression. We have cooperated with all the opposition parties in joint actions on which our views agreed with theirs either partially or completely--actions including the Committee for the Defense of Democracy and the joint statement issued in the wake of the hijacking of the Egyptian airliner. When we presented our national salvation program, the government showed no interest in discussing it. Even when the government asked for our opinion on certain issued, such as the subsidy issue or the economic crisis, we offered this opinion. But the government has not considered or discussed it and has not even permitted its presentation to the public.

We are not the ones who reject joint action. It is the government that rejects it and it wants us to cooperate with it in implementing policies with which we do not agree and which we even view as the most important causes of the crisis. We defined three main objectives for the national salvation program: fighting the U.S.-Zionist alliance, fighting against foreign control over Egypt's economy, and reexamining the existing policies whose foundations were laid down by al-Sadat. But the ruling party did not respond and displayed no enthusiasm for discussing these matters because it is, as all are aware, a Sadatist party in flesh and blood.

Who Is Annoyed with Democracy?

[Question] Do you think that the popular uprising which started last year and which has been escalating since the fall has created a tendency for the U.S. administration to be annoyed with the democratic margin existing in Egypt?

[Answer] What I am certain of is that the United Stated wants to strike against two things simultaneously: the Egyptian national movement and the PLO in its capacity, according to the U.S. view, as an obstacle in the face of effecting a settlement in the area. One of the means of this strike is to assault the democratic margin through supporters and people with interests in Egypt. The matter may reach the point where the United States encourages some adventurous elements to achieve these two objectives. I believe that this is a real danger.

[Question] How can it be confronted?

[Answer] By clinging to and practicing democracy, by maintaining the channels of dialogue, by calculated movement, and by transportating the masses from the position of a spectator watching the political struggle to the position of participant taking part in the struggle from the angle of the masses' interest. All this is possible, especially since those who think of staging a coup against democracy are aware that the Egyptian people can no longer be ruled without democracy, regardless of how limited it is, and since they realize that none of those who may think of such adventures possesses

a credit to make him acceptable to the people. Therefore, we are not afraid, and we will not diminish our democratic activity, will not pull back into holes, and will not close the door of dialogue with anybody--a dialogue from our independent position. Nobody will lure us in to side battles, not even to respond to words and characterizations which should have been reexamined before being published.

When I departed, the natural climate was still sunny and warm. The traces of the clouds which had afflicted the political climate were still evident on the pages of the government papers. I then told myself:

They are the ones with the clouds, not us.

8494/12951
CSO: 4504/197

SUDAN

LIBYAN RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGN, REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES VIEWED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 20 Mar 86 p 6

[Text] AL-DUSTUR has learned that one of the most important problems that is being studied during the visit of the Sudanese delegation to Libya, headed by the prime minister, Dr al-Jazuli Dafa'allah, is the subject of the military recruitment of officers, noncommissioned officers, soldiers, and ordinary citizens, which is being carried out by official Libyan quarters to enlist them for the Libyan Army; this took place after massive advertisements which the Libyan Embassy in the Sudan published in a number of Sudanese newspapers. It is worth pointing out that last week, Lt Gen Tawfiq Khalil, a member of the Transitional Military Council and chief of staff of the Sudanese Armed Forces, had summoned the Libyan ambassador in Khartoum and informed him of the necessity of ceasing recruitment operations. AL-DUSTUR's investigations indicate that the recruiting campaign which also includes the so-called Arab Salvation Army and the Islamic Brigade is directed from a house in the al-Riyad area, east of the Sudanese capital, under the orders of Salah al-Duruqi and Muhammad Bin-Nayil, who are wanted by the Sudanese Security Organization.

It is worth pointing out that in recent weeks, the Revolutionary Committee movement has been afflicted by many divisions, the most recent of which was the rise of the so-called "corrective leadership" to which Yusuf Ibrahim 'Abdallah, 'Adil al-Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali al-Kanzi, Dr Tariq 'Abdallah, Mahdi Bushra, Fath-al-Rahman Muhammad al-Hasan, 'Abd-al-Majid Muhammad 'Abd-al-Majid, and Muhammad Ahmed Ibrahim belong. This leadership made public its condemnation of all of the previous practices of the revolutionary committees in the Sudan. They explained that the leadership of these committees was in the hands of the Libyans, that 'Abdallah Zakariya was a mere puppet, and that the true coordinator was a Libyan operations team belonging to the Libyan Embassy. The "corrective leadership" described Libyan actions in the Sudan as aiming to bring Arab struggles in the region to the Sudanese scene.

/6091
CSO: 4504/256

TUNISIA

GOVERNMENT TREATMENT OF ISLAMIC TENDENCY MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Mar 86 p 20

[Text]

After a few years of a so-called liberalisation in Tunisia, there are now indications that Prime Minister Mohammed M'zali is reversing earlier policies. The code on the freedom of the press, promised at the beginning of the 1980s, was constantly delayed, thus enabling the government to muzzle and intimidate the opposition parties — particularly the Islamic Trend Movement (ITM).

Arabia was the first to report that Tunisia's liberalisation — advised by Washington and Paris — was merely a tactic designed to isolate and strike at the emerging current of Islam. That analysis proved correct since the leading members and officials of the ITM, including its President Rashed Ghannoushi, and its Secretary-General Abdelfettah Mourou, spent three years in jail accused of incitment to violence and abuse against life President Bourguiba.

Under the pretext of regulating the opposition parties activities, all of which are officially recognised except for the ITM, Bourguiba's regime is repeating the July 1981 repression in an effort to undermine the ITM. In December 1985 the government introduced its "basic bill on parties". The bill seeks to prevent the Islamists from setting up a party by prohibiting the basic ideas the Islamic Trend Movement stands for.

Under Article four of the bill, people who propose to set up a party can do so provided they respect, among other things, "the principles decided in the personal law paper." But the Islamists have openly opposed this law, originally imposed by President Bourguiba after independence in 1956. The ITM has consistently campaigned for its revision because it violates Islamic teachings in matters of family relations.

Article Five maintains that religion, and Islam in particular, are shared by all Tunisians and therefore cannot be made the basis of political association. But the objective of the Islamic Trend Movement is to work towards the creation of a society in conformity with Islamic teachings. Article Five makes any such objective illegal.

The authors of the bill are determined to make sure the Islamists find no way to bypass its provisions. Thus Article Seven stipulates that the founders of a party must not have been convicted and jailed for over three months for crimes unspecified by the bill — automatically prohibiting the current ITM leadership from launching a political party.

In recent months many opposition groups, including the ITM, have joined together in a loosely knit political front in order to strengthen the overall position of the government's opponents. Unnerved by this development, the government is not only seeking to prevent the Islamists from establishing a political party, it is also attempting to isolate the ITM from other opposition groups. Premier M'zali's government does not intend to give in to the growing pressure for greater democratic pluralism. Indeed, it is tightening its grip over the country.

Before turning against the Islamists, Premier M'zali has virtually succeeded in subjugating the general workers' union the UGTT. The trial of strength with the UGTT began in 1983, when a wage freeze

was imposed. Subsequent negotiations between the workers' union and the government made little progress and in the spring of 1985, the government withdrew from the talks.

The deadlock was eventually broken by the regime last July, following the expulsion of the Tunisian workers from Libya. This development was skilfully exploited by M'zali in order to weaken the UGTT. The prime minister accused the workers' union of not firmly condemning Tripoli's action, and even hinted that the UGTT was acting in league with Colonel Qadhafi. This was the beginning of a show of force which ended with the imprisonment of his UGTT Secretary-General Habib Achour at the end of the year and the wholesale emasculation of the workers' union.

In September last year, the ruling PSD party militia, protected by the police, started looting UGTT regional offices. Pro-government committees took over the offices, and on October 30 the authorities claimed they had uncovered "tear gas, barbed wire" and other weapons in some UGTT regional offices, which provided a pretext to close down the head-quarters of the workers' union in Tunis.

Arrests of senior trade unionists increased pressure on the UGTT. On November 8 Achour was denied access to UGTT offices. The Union's executive bureau was thus obliged to start negotiations with the Labour Minister in the absence of its Secretary-General. The agreement reached on December 4 gave only vague assurances concerning the security of UGTT members, and forced Achour's departure from the office of Secretary-General. Despite promises to the contrary, most of the hundred trade unionists jailed since November have not yet been freed.

Achour himself was jailed for a year on December 31, in spite of assurances given to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which sent a delegation to Tunisia at the end of October. The weakened UGTT could only protest verbally. Earlier this year about 20 UGTT members began a hunger strike to protest against the authorities refusal to re-instate around 400 workers dismissed for Union activities. The strikers, who occupied the union headquarters, were evacuated by the police four days later. In a defiant move the executive of the UGTT expressed its displeasure at the government by reinstating Achour to his post of Secretary-General.

Now the government wants the committees which took over many of the workers' offices to be recognised as genuine unionists, a step which the UGTT has so far resisted.

The union has been gravely weakened by these developments, but has managed to retain its independence. It was singled out for special attention by the Bourgiba regime because the ITM's presence in it is significant. In fact most of the workers dismissed are said to be ITM activists. Ultimately, it is difficult to see how the regime will succeed in solving the country's economic problems by open confrontation with trade unionists.

/9317
CSO: 4500/108

LEBANON

SHIITE LEADER OFFERS GLOOMY PROGNOSIS ON FACTIONAL STRIFE

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I in Arabic 30 Jan 86 p 10

[Interview with Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah by Edmond al-Hajj and 'Imad Jawdiyah: "No Chance for a Resolution in Lebanon: Factionalism Has Made Lebanon Exist in a Framework of 17 States, As Many As Its Factions"]

[Text] The learned Mr Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah is considered the principal religious source of reference for the Shiite faction in Lebanon and one of the Moslems' prominent imams there. He plays a prominent role in Lebanese spiritual and political life. He is considered the spiritual guide of the Hezbollah Party, although he refuses to be given such a label and underlines his lack of responsibility for any political party.

Since the learned Fadlallah is of considerable importance, Israeli and American intelligence agencies both tried to assassinate him, he asserts, through the Bir al-'Abd bombing which was set off a few meters from his home in the southern suburb of Beirut last year and resulted in the death of 80 citizens and the injury of 200 others.

His conversation with AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I was a sweeping one. He talked about everything in it "in the Lebanese, Arab, international and Islamic contexts." His answers came in effect as a "historic document" regarding the issues which concern the Moslems and Arabs.

Herewith is the text of the conversation:

The East Beirut Events

[Question] What is your opinion regarding the "bloody coup" held against Hubayqah in East Beirut on 15 January? Where is Lebanon going as far as these events and developments which have newly arisen on the local stage are concerned?

[Answer] At the beginning, I would like to discuss the expression. What happened was a bloody or non-bloody coup against the subject of the agreement, because when it took off, the agreement did not represent a general view of the political situation in the eastern section of Beirut, but rather

represented the view of a specific group, even within the Lebanese Forces. Therefore, it is an issue not of a coup against a political situation which has become intensified but rather of the dominance of a group opposed to this political decision which another group represents. I consider that the use of the word coup or betrayal is not accurate.

As to where Lebanon is going, the fact is that I have not found that anything has changed where we might talk about how to face a new situation, because we feel that what has happened has not evolved into a political situation on the ground but rather has been a plan, like the other plans that have been set forth, which do not have intrinsic features in their background elements but rather proceed on the basis of the regional struggle and international schemes that have been propounded for the course of the struggle in Lebanon. Therefore, I just viewed the trilateral agreement as I viewed the Geneva or Lausanne agreements, with some objective differences. The plan of the Salvation Committee which was formed during the Israeli siege of Beirut in 1982, the intention in which was to bring Bashir al-Jumayyil into the political club and the Islamic club in general, so that that could prepare for the presidency, may perhaps have been going about in my mind. Perhaps the intention also was that the introduction of the Lebanese Forces among the men on the Islamic political street would be something like an acceptable state, if only in some of its aspects, so that it would be possible to arrange Lebanon's future situation.

Therefore one might perhaps take an extreme view and say that the trilateral agreement did not take off as a means for solving the problem but that its intention was to provoke a specific situation, and the agreement plan did succeed in provoking this situation, inasmuch as the Moslem community which was thinking only of talking with Ili Hubayqah had started to view Hubayqah as a "national and Islamic" hero and to be prepared to challenge any group, because Hubayqah's image, regardless of the nature of his defense, is a distorted one connected to the Israeli situation and connected to the party represented by the massacre of Sabra and Shatila and represents the profound intelligence situation which is connected to regional and international intelligence services. While that person had become acceptable just because he uttered some slogans, of course a situation which is less than that would have been acceptable. Therefore, it might be an extreme or fantastic opinion, but I feel that the future might entail some particular circumstances which will assert its realistic nature. Therefore, I do not consider that the situation in Lebanon has reached a point of great pessimism that would prompt us to feel as if we had entered a tunnel we had not gone into previously. We are still in the tunnel we were in and all the possibilities that had existed before the trilateral agreement are relevant now. Yes, we had been living in a climate of unrealistic dreams, and we lost them and lost much of them, but as long as the "dream factories" are at the ready in the local, regional and international context, it is possible that they can produce new dreams for us.

A Possible Solution in Lebanon

[Question] From your statement, we understand that the treatment of the new situation in the East Beirut section is being carried out along the lines of

the dealings with Hubayqah. Or do you expect that new military developments will occur?

[Answer] This might not just be a possibility, but I believe that it is something for which the way is now being paved through a test of the new balance of power in order to see who is the stronger, lest the agreement fall into the quagmire it fell into earlier when there had been no accurate study of the balance of power in East Beirut. This is what prompts an observer to be neutral regarding events. How then has it been possible to set out with the question of the agreement, at a time when everyone knows that the people who signed it did not enjoy the support of 80 percent of the influential Christian organizations or personalities in this section? I do not know why. I do not consider that it is just a matter of recording an agreement; rather, one might consider that the dissolution of the agreement as a signature it is intended to obtain as a draft will bring about a political situation in Lebanon and the area. However, as a draft agreement which is intended to last, I do not believe that the circumstances of the signing were realistic in this respect.

Therefore I imagine that it is very natural that a manipulation of the stage should take place in one way or another and that the test of who is the the stronger should take place on the stage, because I do not find a realistic possibility on the stage for there to be a new war in the way in which we understand war or in the way which is raised in the media context nowadays: I believe that there is more than one "red line"in this area. If the intention is that war will solve the Lebanese problem, it will solve it if the problem approaches a final decision. At that point war might be decisive, whereas if the solution is to occur through a decision, war might be in effect the consummation of what is being cooked up, if the intention is for the war to lead the Lebanese into settlements from which they cannot draw back.

[Question] Is a resolution of the Lebanese crisis still remote?

[Answer] I believe that in the foreseeable future, as far as a specific political situation intended for Lebanon which will serve international political conditions goes, I believe that an opportunity exists for a resolution in which one group will predominate over another to a great extent, because we understand that Lebanon came into being to perform a specific mission for the West specifically. What is the political situation which the West requires in the region? Lebanon was just an open door to the West on the one hand, open to the East on the other, to be a stage on which all the plans propounded for the region would be tested and to be an eye on the background conditions existing in the region. This makes it mandatory that Lebanon remain in this atmosphere in which citizens do not experience a common affiliation with the nation but rather all live in their own factional framework, because it is that which realizes this sort of diversity which goes forth not to enrich the experiment but to complicate it and bring about the plans which have been propounded on the Lebanese stage.

The Problem of Political Factionalism

[Question] What in your view is the possible solution in Lebanon, in the long or short term?

[Answer] The fact is that I believe that the subject of talking realistically about a solution to the Lebanese problem in these circumstances is not realistic. The reason for this is that in any country, when you want to think about a solution to your problem, you must proceed to discuss the roots of this problem in order to deal with it in terms of the subject of a solution, whereas in Lebanon there is an attempt to flee from the core of the problem and give the impression that it is not possible to talk about ending or eliminating the roots of the problem. We for example know in Lebanon that the problem of political factionalism is what has caused Lebanon to exist in the framework of 17 states, as many as the number of factions in it, because each faction has its own independent policy and its independent alliances and has its interests, its ties, its economy and its education, like every country which thinks in this manner. In this area, we observe during this period in which the notion of eliminating political factionalism has been raised that the thinking is done through the group which is concerned with dominating or living in hegemony. That is, eliminating factionalism, that is, political factionalism, means the substitution of one form of hegemony for another. Why? On grounds that the elimination of factionalism will give government to the majority, and it is assumed that the majority belongs to the Moslems. That means that government will also belong to the Moslems, and therefore we will be replacing one form of hegemony with another. I believe that that matter is an attempt to keep any sort of change from occurring, because that is something that is real on the stage. The Moslems have a majority over the Christians, for example. In the context of the elimination of political factionalism, this majority does not think along the lines of the Islamic mentality, in the factional sense of the Islamic mentality. The meaning of eliminating political factionalism is that citizens will have their rights and that they will not bear along with themselves their factional character or any other character. At that point you cannot solve the problem, as long as these people believe that the notion of eliminating political factionalism is that the government will not remain in their hands and that it will be in the hands of others. That means that they will revert to the repression of the middle ages and will lose their freedom. When you think about this method, you will think about it now and will think about it tomorrow, in 20 years and in 30 years. The problem in Lebanon is that there is no readiness to change profoundly, and therefore it is difficult for the problem to be solved, because the solution to it lies in changing the circumstances which contributed to the creation of the problem.

In an earlier conversation I had, I said that the problem in Lebanon will be solved only by a decisive resolution. Realistically, I mean in the sense that, if we want to solve the problem, one group will have to predominate over the other so that it will be possible for the question to be resolved. Then it will deal with the future not in the mentality of superiority but in the mentality of acting in accordance with the new state of affairs, because no party can be permitted a change in circumstances whose intention is to create a settlement which will be afraid to raise a problem here or there. Therefore, I say that the trilateral agreement is not realistic when the issue of postponing the elimination of political factionalism for 15 years or more or less is raised, because the circumstances we are experiencing now permit the elimination of political factionalism: a dilemma exists which the Lebanese feel they are prepared to offer anything to eliminate, whereas such

circumstances will not exist 15 years from now. Therefore the problems which are arising now will arise and after that we will not be able to eliminate political factionalism unless we launch a new war. Therefore the trilateral agreement, by its very nature, will lead to the creation of a new war in this area.

Islamic Thinking

[Question] There is an important subject which must be discussed, which is the connection between the future of Lebanon and the future of the Shiite community, which is growing and expanding. What is your assessment of this phenomenon and its dimensions in the local, regional and international contexts?

[Answer] I believe that the question of the Shiite community as a subject in the Lebanese situation was raised before the circumstances which paved the way for the direct confrontation of Israel. This was when the movement of the "deprived" set forth, formerly Mr Musa al-Sadr's movement, the circumstances of which were not factional in the profound sense of factionalism so much as factionalism was a framework for it. The circumstances for its take-off rather were the Shiites' feeling that they were citizens living in this country without rights of citizenship. While the context of this thesis was Shiite at the beginning, since the persons who raised it or the bodies which bore the responsibility for it were Shiites, the thesis was nonetheless a liberal one. Therefore the question was not raised from its Shiite angle; rather, it was raised through the question of deprived persons, imparting to this issue a social dimension and a political dimension for which Shiite factionalism might be a large stage, but one which also refers to other factional stages.

Had this matter proceeded in a fashion removed from pressure and from the complicating style by which it was surrounded, it would have been possible for it to be transformed from a factional state to a sociopolitical state, had it been destined that there be a response regarding the Lebanese social question. What happened, however, was that the question was understood as a factional one and that the Shiites were the ones who reproduce in abundance and the ones who exist on the stage of party political projects (because they belonged to leftwing parties) and would constitute a factional threat to the other groups or would constitute a political threat by belonging to parties and currents opposed to the other groups. Therefore, thinking originated in Lebanon in a covert or conspicuous manner with the goal of domesticating this movement on the one hand and ending it or containing it on the other and consequently thwarting it. I believe that many Lebanese intellectual movements have moved in this direction in the Lebanese and perhaps regional context. This is the reason which caused the social movement to lose these qualities, withdraw and go back to its factional bases, because the factional atmosphere turned it into factional thinking.

I believe that the Shiite situation (if one can use the label) which in its actual condition has not yet moved on beyond Shiite thinking in the factional sense of the word is still Islamic thinking in this broad area and perhaps liberal Shiite thinking in the other area; that is, it is not inward-

looking. The Shiites have not yet reached the point of being a faction in the inward-looking sense of factionalism, and therefore you can observe that there is [not] anything by the name of "head of the Shiites;" the Shiites have a number of heads or views. On the one hand this is a weak point among the Shiites, in the context of the Lebanese factional structure, but it is a strong point on the other; no one can "appropriate" their decisions if the intention is to have any group in the region put pressure on a specific personality or current among the Shiites. This is a strong point in the future term, while it is a weak point in the context of the factional structure at present. Therefore, there now is the feeling that it is serious in the regional political situation, since its connection with the general Islamic revolutionary situation has made a group of Lebanese feel that this community which now has come to possess "armed teeth" and has come to possess a state of "extremist revolutionary orientation" can influence the Lebanese situation. Therefore, I believe that there is a scheme in Lebanon, in the region and in the world to encumber this community with error, fantastic plans or domestic clashes with most groups in order to strike at it in depth by means of the terrorism which America is leading in the region through Israel. Therefore, I am not optimistic about most of the victories which have been realized against the multinational force, Israel or the Phalange, which are called victories on the local level. Rather, I consider them a sign of defeat or weakness, because there is a regional and international, indeed local, scheme to reduce the status of this community or put an end to it on grounds that it represents the abyss of terror or factionalism or all words used in the political lexicon.

The Situation in the South of Lebanon

[Question] Following the Rome and Vienna operations and the firing of Katyusha rockets at upper Galilee, there has been much talk of the possibility of a new Israeli hunting expedition or the deployment of a security belt. What is your conception of this state of affairs?

[Answer] I do not believe that Israel has the freedom to act from the political standpoint in the current circumstances, under which it is intended that a number of regional, diplomatic and political situations that are being cooked up reach their final form. It does not have the freedom to act in terms of any type of new expansion against any area of Lebanon, because that will greatly complicate the diplomatic and political movements which are currently taking place in the region and will embarrass many of "America's Arabs" who are working to pave the way for the American schemes in the region in quiet circumstances, since it is America which has revealed its deceitful political face through Israel in a very conspicuous manner, always trying, through its relations with its allies in the region, to obtain some cosmetic powders which the Arabs are accustomed to being comfortable with, in a statement here or a search toward a solution there, for the sake of accommodating some instances of disturbance and opposition. Therefore, I believe that any new Israeli expansion in Lebanon will confuse the situation in the region; in my opinion the situation in the south of Lebanon will remain as it is, that is, no peace and no war.

There remains the aspect of media terrorization which can bring about some political conditions in Lebanon and in the region in this area, and there

might perhaps be a "war opportunity" when what is being cooked up in the region reaches its final form.

I do not believe that any new Israeli state of war is imminent on the horizon. Rather, I believe that there are international, not regional, policies facing Israel in this area and the capitulation schemes. That might create some conditions on the southern stage where if for example Suq al-Gharb in the mountains were fated to act in a specific manner I believe that the countervailing front would be the front east of Sidon and Jazzin. If a red line is proposed here a red line could be propsed there, if only for a while, to create a state of confusion which will create a specific Lebanese political situation.

In Favor of America and Russia

[Question] Some Western reports talk of imminent military confrontation between Israel and Syria in Lebanon.

[Answer] I do not believe that the question of Syrian-Israeli confrontation exists in the time frame which is close to this process, because in reality it is not a Syrian-Israeli question but a Russian-American one, that is, an intervention in the lines of general international interests, since the Soviet Union cannot allow the defeat of Syria, at least at the present stage, and America cannot allow the defeat of Israel. Perhaps it is in the interests of the two international parties that the situation remain in the context of a cold war whose temperature might rise on behalf of "keeping the problem alive," so that it will not cool down properly. Therefore, I imagine that the situation will remain in the context of a media war and war of limited positions in Lebanon, just as a war of positions exists in some areas of the world in favor of the two great powers.

The Lebanese National Resistance

[Question] There are people who demand the escalation of Lebanese national resistance operations in order to put pressure on Israel to withdraw. There are people who demand that they cease so that Israel will stop its bombing and everyday depopulation of secure villages. Are you in favor of the former position or the latter?

[Answer] The fact is that when you want to think about the process of defining the stage in which you want to mount a resistance or not mount a resistance, you must view the strategic goal which prompts you to resist. In this area, there are two theories on the question. One theory contemplates the Israeli question as one of an occupation of Lebanon or as one of confronting American policy in the region, since Israel represents a regime which concurs with America: if the occupation in Lebanon ends no question will exist, while if Israeli policy is in harmony with some general political policies which one political group or another embraces, there will continue to be a problem. There is a second view which states that the question of Israel has two particular features, one that it is a country occupying Lebanon and Palestine and bears the potential for occupying other parts of the region, as it occupied Golan, and can occupy new territory in accordance with its

strategy in the future, and second that it is now the long arm by which America strikes and threatens all the countries in the region, by means of the strategic treaty between them. Therefore, this view holds that the question of resistance in the south does not have a particular southern feature but is a point of departure for the sake of "revolutionizing the region" against Israel and against its methods by means of Islamic ideas and Islamic principles, on grounds that the value of Islamic ideas is that they address Moslems through their religious feelings, in order to turn them into a political state and political holy war to confront the other parties which always address people from abroad and consider that it is necessary to provoke Islamic feelings through factional thinking, indeed through general thinking which might concur even with Christians when they want to act within the goal of freedom on which Moslems and Christians concur, for example. The intent is to stir up a state of resistance and attempt to eliminate Israel from the region, if only after 100 years. Therefore, I do not imagine that the future will quiet down in the region, even if peace comes about.

The Issue of the Kidnapping of Diplomats

[Question] In your capacity as the spiritual guide of the Hezbollah, could you talk to us about the dimensions of the kidnapping of diplomats and some foreign citizens in West Beirut?

[Answer] For the thousandth time, I can say that I am not responsible for any political party but at the same time I oversee every Islamic community, those which are affiliated and those which are not. Therefore I reject any declaration which tries to link my movement to any body, in spite of my respect for the efforts to which my name is connected. I consider myself one of the fathers of the Islamic community in Lebanon, since I have been overseeing it for 20 years, but I have not worked organizationally within any party and consequently I reject any label such as spiritual guide, for example.

As regards the subject of the kidnapping, I am against these acts, which are relevant not to the Islamic community but rather to the Lebanese community. In any event, the people who have ventured upon these acts are not terrorists, as they portray them, and they might be in the right in what they venture on, because they are demanding the release, for example, of relatives of theirs who have been detained in some countries. It is no secret to anyone, either, that there are Iranian diplomats who have been kidnapped in the section of East Beirut whose fate or kidnapping has not been acknowledged, and the Lebanese intelligence agencies and their masters the American and Israeli intelligence agencies are undoubtedly benefitting from this process. The goal behind their kidnapping might be to weaken the Islamic community in Lebanon by describing it as terrorist first of all and kidnapping the people who support it second of all. It is no secret to anyone, either, that the Americans and their allies the Europeans are the masters of kidnapping and terror. We all remember the American regime's initiative of kidnapping the Moroccan opposition figure Mehdi Ben Barka, the hijacking of the Algerian fighting man Ahmed Ben Bella's airplane and his kidnapping by the French Vichy regime.

Therefore kidnapping is not a situation which has been innovated by the Lebanese. Rather, the Lebanese have learned it from Europe and America; we know that it is the American intelligence agencies that take the initiative of kidnapping people and eliminating them and as a consequence of that put pressure on bodies which are hostile to them in order to distort their reputation. We are amazed that while America condemns the killing of some innocent people in the Rome and Vienna airports it is not condemning the killing of 80 children, women, old men and young people and the wounding of 200 others who were the victims of the Bi'r al-'Abd bombing, in which American circles through the newspaper WASHINGTON POST admitted American intelligence agencies are involved. We in reality condemn the acts of kidnapping foreigners, but people who live in glass houses must not throw stones at their neighbor's house.

[Question] Finally, you have considered that the investigation the official security agencies recently published, in which they exposed an extensive Israeli sabotage network, was trumped up. Why?

[Answer] Because we have very accurate information which proves the presence of a relationship between the Lebanese army's intelligence agencies (the second bureau) and the Israeli Mossad and American intelligence. The involvement of these agencies has been proved by a number of bombings, among them the operation of the Bi'r al-'Abd bombing and other sabotage and assassination operations. Therefore, we consider that what has been published on this subject is a bad media balloon, because it has not revealed or declared the entire truth.

11887
CSO: 4404/266

SYRIA

NEW BENEFITS GRANTED TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 30 Jan 86 p 16

[Article: "A New Role for the Private Productive Sector in Syria: New Facilities Where Domestic Capital Can Invest Its Money in Total Freedom in Domestic Projects"]

[Text] The Syrian government's efforts in expanding the role of the private sector in the economic and social development process have been active recently.

The most recent step in this regard has been the meeting the Syrian prime minister, Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasim, held this 25 January with the heads and members of the chambers of commerce and industry and the leaders of the federation of craftsmen, with the deputy prime minister for economic affairs, Dr Salim Yasin, and the minister of economy and foreign trade, Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi, in attendance.

Syrian economic circles, in particular private sector producers, followed up on the events and results of the meeting with great interest. It focussed on a common discussion between the government and private sector leaders on the subject of bringing about greater participation for this sector in the development process. In the course of it, views and recommendations were presented regarding the completion of measures the Syrian government has taken to realize a balance between production and consumption, provide more suitable opportunities to the private and joint sector to employ all their capabilities in agricultural and industrial investments and offer facilities for domestic savings and capital to stimulate them in productive areas.

Three days before the holding of this meeting, the Syrian minister of industry issued a decree on whose basis he stipulated the industries the private and joint industrial sectors were permitted to invest in. It shold be noted that the decree expanded the base of industries in which local private capital will have the right to function, totalling about 100 types of machinery, chemical, textile and food industries.

The Private Sector's Role

The source of the importance of this decree as well as the decrees by which the areas of private investment in the agricultural sector are defined is

that it has realized one of local producers' main demands in identifying specific areas for the private sector which will not be nationalized or expropriated and in which the public sector will not compete with the private sector.

One measure the Syrian government took recently to encourage the private sector's role was that the import, export and consumer guidance committee which is headed by the prime minister decided to grant the value of the foreign currency obtained from the process of exporting private and public sector agricultural and industrial products at the tourist price, in which an American dollar is valued at 8.25 Syrian pounds, the equivalent of double the dollar's official price in Syria.

The committee had previously issued a decree granting a similar advantage to fruit and vegetable exports. The committee also approved permission to import factories, machinery and equipment which it is permitted to import to establish industries which Syria requires and also permission to import spare parts for cars, vehicles and small tractors which it is permitted to import.

It is worth mentioning that the private sector in Syria complained in recent years about its inability to supply the primary materials necessary for operating. In the course of the past few months, a number of government decrees have been issued permitting the private industrial and agricultural sector to import primary materials by means of containers and facilities and to import the equipment and machinery needed to renovate and develop production.

Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi, the Syrian minister of economy, whom some people consider one of the main Syrian government figures backing the new tendencies in Syrian economic policy, believes that the latter measures have created a suitable climate in which the private and joint sectors can invest their money in total freedom in a broad number of agricultural and industrial projects.

In a lecture concerning the role of the joint and private sectors in development which he gave this 21 January, Dr al-'Imadi considered that the Syrian government has offered the private sector great facilities and advantages.

In the industrial area, industrial projects are making use of the benefit of exemption from income tax on profits for a period of 3 years of the date of the commencement of investment, the exemption of 10 percent of the profits allocated to expansion if they are invested within 2 years of the date they are realized, and exemption from real estate sales tax for a period of 6 years for the industrial installations they own.

As for the agricultural sector, that is totally exempt from all taxes and levies.

Nonetheless, Dr al-'Imadi observes that private money is being directed not toward investment in the two main economic sectors, the agricultural and

industrial, but to non-productive sectors such as real estate and means of transportation, stating that private sector investments in 1984 came to 6,089,000,000 pounds, 73.4 percent of which was spent on the housing sector and 16.7 percent on means of transportation.

Dr al-'Imadi called on the private sector to devote attention to the productive economic sectors, making use of the benefits and guarantees granted to it in this area. He also called for understanding of the private sector's difficulties and problems and for help for it in proceeding in a direction which will expand the base of production.

Therefore, economic observers consider that the latest meeting the Syrian prime minister held with industrial, commercial and craft activity leaders is the beginning of a new stage in joint cooperation between the Syrian government and productive domestic capital which could lead to this capital's playing a greater part in economic activity, especially since an in-depth discussion took place at the meeting concerning the obstacles facing the productive private sector, including such non-productive activities as smuggling, brokerage and financial speculation. The prime minister, Dr al-Kasim, declared war against the people dealing in these at the meeting, when he described their activity as unlawful gain and stated that there would be no mercy for them after today, asserting that his government supported trade and industry which contributed productive investments.

11887
CSO: 4404/266

PAPER REPORTS MUJAHIDIN ATTACK ON SOVIET BASE

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 2 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 1 (Dispatches) — Afghan Mujahideen officials said Friday their forces launched a missile and mortar attack on a Soviet military encampment in Eastern Afghanistan, killing 14 Soviet soldiers and destroying five tanks and armored vehicles.

The officials, who insisted on anonymity for security reasons, said 50 Mujahideen attacked the Soviet position at Shahikot in Nangarhar Province on Feb. 24.

The Mujahideen fired 107mm rockets and mortar shells into the position starting a large fire in the Soviet camp, the officials said.

Two Mujahideen were wounded and three civilians killed when Soviet forces bombarded the surrounding area with artillery, the officials said.

The officials also reported that a column of Soviet and Afghan government troops with some 200 tanks and other vehicles conducted an offensive in mid-February against the Mujahideen positions in Faryab Province in northern Afghanistan. At least two Islamic fighters were martyred and 13 wounded in the fighting in the Koh-e-Rahmani area of the province, they said.

Mujahideen forces reported destroying or damaging 11 tanks and other vehicles during the fighting from Feb. 11 to Feb. 17, the officials said. A unit of 24 Afghan army soldiers had surrendered to the Mujahideen they said.

Karmal Denies Soviet Presence in Fighting

In a related news from Moscow President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan said Saturday that Soviet troops would leave his country as soon as the counter-revolution is crushed and peace restored.

He denied that Soviet soldiers were directly engaged in fighting counter-revolutionaries.

/9317
CSO: 4600/264

MUJAHIDIN DOWN MORE SOVIET HELICOPTERS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 5 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (Dispatches) — Three Soviet helicopters were shot down in Afghanistan by Afghan Mujahideen as Soviet forces attacked villages and other targets around the capital of Kabul, Western diplomatic sources said Tuesday.

The sources, speaking on condition they not be identified further, said the helicopters were shot down on successive days during a series of Soviet air and ground operations against suspected Islamic guerrilla positions.

One helicopter, identified as an MI-24 gunship, was downed after being hit by a rocket-propelled grenade that exploded in the cockpit, the sources said.

The sources also said two high-ranking Afghan officers defected from the Communist government and fled to Pakistan. Several sources said a brigadier general assigned to the police academy in Kabul had defected on Feb. 10 and fled with his family.

The sources also reported that a colonel had defected on Feb. 20. One source said the officer was in the army, while another source identified him as a police official. None of the sources gave the names of the defectors and Pakistani government officials declined to comment on the reports.

Defections are common in Afghanistan with officers and officials often deserting and fleeing the country. Most defectors join the ranks of the Afghan Mujahideen forces fighting the Communist government, which is supported by an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops.

The sources said one helicopter was shot down over the Loghar Valley on Feb. 20, while another was downed Feb. 21 over the Lalandar Gorge 15 kilometers (about 10 miles) southwest of the city, the sources said.

In the most detailed report, the Western sources said that an MI-24 gunship supporting Soviet ground

forces carrying out a sweep against the insurgents east of Kabul was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade on Feb. 22.

Copters Downed in Quick Succession

The crew tried to return to Kabul airport after the missile exploded in the cockpit, but the helicopter crashed several miles short of the runway, killing all four crewmen, the sources said.

Military sources, also speaking on condition they not be identified further, said it was not unlikely that the Mujahideen could have downed three Soviet helicopters in quick succession.

Improved anti-aircraft weapons from the United States, China and other nations are reportedly reaching the Mujahideen and the incidents around Kabul indicated the insurgents probably had received a major arms shipment, the military sources said.

All three downed helicopters were apparently engaged in operations against Mujahideen forces around the capital as part of an effort to disrupt and disperse the insurgents' operations, the sources said.

In one operation, 30 helicopter gunships carried out a major strike against villages in the Paghman District north of the capital on Feb. 24 with support provided by jet fighter-bombers, they said.

Paghman is a major staging area for guerrilla attacks on the capital.

Heavy Fight Continuing

Elsewhere, heavy fighting continued in late February around the western city of Herat near the Iranian border, the diplomatic sources said.

Soviet helicopter gunships repeatedly attacked Mujahideen-held villages around the city during the past two weeks, causing major damage and an unspecified number of civilian casualties, they said.

Herat has reportedly suffered heavy damage as a result of major fighting and guerrilla forces hold part of the city.

Heavy fighting was also reported in eastern Afghanistan in Nangarhar Province near the Pakistani border where Soviet and Afghan army forces are trying to block Mujahideen supply routes used to bring weapons across the frontier.

Diplomatic sources said Soviet forces had moved from a support role into the main fighting. They said there was heavy combat through February. Afghan Mujahideen officials have said their forces in Nangarhar have held the Soviet and Afghan government forces back and inflicted heavy losses.

The government of Afghanistan rarely allows Western journalists into the country and it is not generally possible to verify reports from Afghanistan.

/9317
CSO: 4600/264

SOVIET WAR LOSSES CAUSE STRAIN IN RELATIONS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Mar. 11 (Dispatches) — The Soviet Union, helped by mild weather, has launched new offensives against the Mujahideen in Afghanistan but failed to cut their supply routes, lost men and strained relations with the Afghan government, a western diplomat said Tuesday.

The diplomat, speaking to reporters on the condition she not be named, said the Soviets have adopted a "more aggressive posture" and now are concentrating their efforts on cutting Mujahideen supply and escape route between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

But she said the strategy has had "little or no discernible impact on the overall political and military situation."

"The U.S.S.R. has begun to gear up its military offensives in 1986 earlier than in the past," partly because of mild weather, the diplomat said.

"Sizeable operations already have been launched (in eastern Afghanistan near the Pakistani border) under a strategy intended to stem the influx of men and weapons into the country before the beginning of the spring and summer fighting seasons," she said.

She said the Soviets had "achieved some degree of success" by using small, highly mobile, units of the Spetznaz, the Soviet Army's elite special forces, which often are dropped from helicopters by night onto Mujahideen routes.

"But this tactic, while troublesome, does not appear to have had a significant overall impact on the Mujahideen supplies," the diplomat said.

Lenin's Dictum

"Moscow's more aggressive posture has upped Soviet battlefield losses of men and equipment," the diplomat said. "Though these are supportable to the Soviet Union, they appear to have exacerbated strins between Moscow and Kabul," she said.

The diplomat cited Karmal's recent speech at the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow which "contained a defensive reference to Lenin's dictum that every revolution is worth something when capable of defending itself."

"But he (Karmal) hastily pointed out that Lenin also said a revolution does not learn self-defense in a hurry," she said.

The Soviet's say their troops are helping Kabul fight "counter-revolutionaries" opposed to Afghanistan's April 1978 Communist takeover.

The diplomat said the Soviets are worried by the "poor performance" of the Afghan government army, which has been plagued by large-scale desertions.

"We thus tend to credit recent reports that the (Kabul) regime will try to increase its ground forces numerical strength and we strongly suspect this point was impressed on Babrak (Karmal) by the Soviets during his recent Moscow visit," she said.

The diplomat said "a number of Kabul teachers" were told last week to report for active duty, although teachers previously were exempt from military service.

"However, there does not appear to be a concomitant increase in the number of ever present impress gangs roaming Kabul's teeming bazaars," she said.

The Soviets, however, whose troops strength has remained constant for most of the war, are unlikely to increase the size of their occupation force, She said.

/9317
CSO: 4600/265

GOVERNMENT TROOPS CONFRONT MUJAHIDIN AROUND QANDAHAR

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 19 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Mar. 18 (Dispatches) — Soviet and Afghan Army forces have been locked in heavy fighting with the Islamic freedom fighters in southern Afghanistan, where a Soviet armored column was ambushed with heavy losses, sources said Tuesday.

They reported that an Afghan general was wounded in another incident in the north.

Western diplomatic sources, speaking on condition they not be identified further, said the unidentified general, who was described as a division commander, was wounded on March 6 or 7 in fighting near Baghlan. An Afghan colonel and five soldiers also were killed in the incident near Malmal, the sources said.

The sources were unable to provide any further information on the incident.

Soviet forces have been engaged in extensive operations against the Mujahideen in recent weeks around the southern city of Kandahar, which has suffered extensive damage in the fighting. The Mujahideen shot down four military helicopters and two jet fighters around Kandahar in the first two weeks of March, the diplomatic sources said.

The Muslim rebels ambushed a Soviet armored column bringing supplies to Kandahar on March 9, destroying or damaging between 15 and 18 vehicles, the sources said.

The sources said 27 Afghan soldiers were killed and another 90 captured in one encounter with the Mujahideen and an Afghan Army major and 70 of his men surrendered to the freedom fighters in another incident around Kandahar.

Search and Destroy Mission

Mujahideen officials contacted in the Pakistan city of Peshawar near the Afghan border confirmed that there was heavy fighting in and around Kandahar, and said a number of Soviet Afghan Army columns had been attacked in recent weeks.

A Soviet infantry force supported by tanks and helicopter gunships carried out a search-and-destroy mission

against the Mujahideen in the southern provinces of Logar and Ghazni between March 5 and 10, the sources said. The force of some 400 Soviet soldiers, also supported by jet fighters, uncovered a number Mujahideen food and arms dumps, but the sources reported nothing about the fighting.

The Soviet force may have been ordered into action after reports that about 1,000 Mujahideen were moving through the area in an effort to return to areas around the capital of Kabul after spending the winter in the south, the sources said.

900 Afghan Deserters

In a related news the western sources also reported that a force of 900 Afghan soldiers had deserted with their weapons to the Mujahideen last week in the east of Afghanistan near the town of Khost, close to the Pakistani frontier. The Afghan's deserted after Soviets stationed with them pulled back to Khost, leaving the Afghan troops in outlying positions, they said.

The Khost region has been the scene of heavy fighting and the Mujahideen control much of surrounding Paktia Province.

The Islamic freedom fighters are fighting to oust the communist government of Afghanistan, which is supported by an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops. The Afghan government rarely allows western correspondents into Afghanistan and reports from inside the country cannot often be checked independently.

/9317
CSO: 4600/265

AFGHANISTAN

IN THE COMPANY OF AFGHAN MUJAHIDIN

Bern ETUDES POLITIQUES in French No 2, Feb 86 pp 2-4

[Article by our correspondent Kurt Peldey just back from Afghanistan]

[Text] "Steleimache" is the greeting we get from partisans we meet along the dusty trail that takes us to the heart of Afghanistan: "May your strength carry you far." My companions answer "Djenatiche," which means "May you enter into paradise." We are near the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, near the town of Khost.

Though part of the 25th infantry division of the regular Afghan army is garrisoned at Khost, these 3,000 enlisted men and some 500 Soviet officers do not seem to have succeeded in denying the mujahidin access to the border. On the contrary, it is the resistance movement that controls all the roads and trails in the border area. The Afghans exploit this to cross the border from one side to the other at will. One finds Uzbeks with their slit eyes, Tajiks speaking Turkish, the Oriental-looking Pathans. They stop for a moment alongside the road to drink some tea and rest from their long journeying.

Green Chests Full of Arms and Ammunition

The Afghans do not come back from Pakistan empty-handed: green chests, filled with arms and ammunition, and bags of grain are tied securely to their mounts--camels, horses or donkeys. In 6 years of war, the Afghans have learned to route their provisions through the most remote areas of the country.

Commandant Djalaloudin ordered a group of 30 mujahidin to lead me on foot across the plain of Khost to the combat zone. The Afghans, carrying only a rifle and calabash, move easily ahead of me. Under the weight of cameras and film, I follow them with effort.

After the Shells, the Swallows...

It would have been difficult to believe that we are in a country at war but for the sudden whistling of Soviet artillery shells flying over our heads to

explod behind us in a deafening uproar and clouds of smoke. Then it is silent...and little by little the birds start to sing again, a few presumptuous swallows even venturing to fly close to that ochre-colored ground that has replaced the green fields of yesteryear. But the respite is a short one. Already the mujahidin, still huddled in their trenches, hear another noise. It is the sound of the rockets that the partisans in the mountains shoot at high altitudes toward enemy bases. Launched in salvos of four or five at a time, they make a noise like a small jet airplane.

Kalachnikov in One Hand, Koran in the Other

While I try to follow the exchanges of fire and the impacts here and there, the mujahidin are talking among themselves, from deep within their shelter. In one hand they hold their Kalachnikov, with the other they frequently thumb through a copy of the Koran.

The trench which serves as a shelter is an old irrigation canal. Since the Soviets began to bombard and pound the region on an almost daily basis, Afghan civilians have fled. Of course, where there are no peasants there is no water, and where there is no water the ground dries out, and the once-fertile land becomes a desert. This is what has happened to Khost, as it has elsewhere in Afghanistan. The region has been depopulated: at one time some 60,000 Afghans lived on the land here. But the resistance of the mujahidin has not been broken, not by a long shot. Several thousand men keep the Khost garrison constantly under pressure. The land routes of communication used by the Soviets have been cut, so that fresh supplies of foodstuffs, arms and ammunition must come by air.

Now It's Trench Warfare Instead of Guerrilla Struggle...

Once a guerrilla war, the conflict has now become a trench war in which the two sides exchange artillery fire. It is obvious that the Soviets and the government troops have more heavy armament than the partisans. However, the regular army at present is clearly on the defensive. The government troops and the Soviets find it difficult to locate the mujahidin positions, while the latter have a precise fix on their enemies. This is why, despite the modest means at their disposal, their operations are often devastatingly effective.

"Naruli" is the name of one of the partisan camps in the mountains near Khost. These camps, which the mujahedin call "markas" (centers), are numerous in this border region, where they serve above all as storage points for arms and food. Naruli gets a daily bombardment from the Soviet artillery at Khost. But the partisans, dug in at the base of a narrow gorge that runs perpendicular to the line of fire of the enemy cannon, are rarely hit.

...And Modern Arms Rather Than Old Rifles

The mujahidin, at least those in this region, have an impressive quantity of arms and munitions. Until recently they only had old rifles. Today

practically all of them have Soviet Kalachnikovs, not to mention machineguns, anti-tank weapons and anti-aircraft. They still lack portable, remote-controlled anti-aircraft weaponry.

The Various Liberation Movements Have United to Fight More Effectively

Three different liberation movements are based in Naruli. Formerly hostile to each other, they are no longer divided by rivalries. Having once and for all buried their disagreements, they are now united so as to fight more effectively against the common enemy.

"The Afghan resistance is more united than ever," says Aminullah, head of one of the bureaus of the "Islamic National Front" of Peshawar. "The men realized that their bickering only helped the enemy. In fact that is why the KGB and its Afghan subsidiary, the KHAD, are always trying so hard to sow discord between the various factions of the resistance. But now the different mujahidin leaders--Mas'ad Abdul Haq in Kabul, Amin Wardak near Dhazni, Jalaludin in Paktia and Ismail Khan in Herat--have reached an understanding, one which has the approval of their political superiors in Peshawar."

"The Political Leaders Who Play the Hero from Exile in Pakistan"

According to Aminullah, these political leaders are responsible for the fact that it has not been possible to set up an Afghan exile government. "Afghanistan is a small country," he explains, "and it cannot have seven different resistance leaders or seven political leaders who work against each other and who pose as national heroes from exile in Pakistan. The real heroes are fighting in the country's interior."

Aminullah does not hide his perplexity about Western attitudes toward the Afghan question: "Western aid goes exclusively to the refugees, not to the mujahidin. And, as inhumane as this may sound, aid to the refugees harms the Afghans. For it encourages more and more people to leave the country. The refugee camps act as magnets for the civilians. If you really want to help us, you must give us the possibility of living in peace in our own country. Do not forget that we are also fighting for you."

Wanted: Doctors and Nurses for Afghanistan

French, West German, Swedish and other aid organizations are sending medical teams to Afghanistan to assist the suffering civilian population in regions controlled by the Afghan resistance.

The emergency fund of ISE is prepared to financially support medical teams that agree to work for 6 months in Afghanistan under the aegis of a French or West German organization. In particularly high demand are general practitioners with several years of clinical experience, as well as several specialists (internal medicine and surgery) and male and female nurses. Financial compensation (at para-medic rates), insurance and travel expenses are underwritten. Interested persons are requested to contact the following office, in writing or by telephone:

ISE--Swiss Institute for Research on Eastern Countries P.O. Box 3000, Berne 6 Telephone 031 43 12 12.

9516
CSO: 8019/0988

BRIEFS

CHILDREN KILLED IN ATTACK--Islamabad, Pakistan (AP)--Three Afghan children were killed and another child wounded when shells fired by Afghan army units hit a refugee camp inside Pakistan, Mujahideen sources said Friday. The Afghan sources, who declined to be identified further, said that Afghan army units operating near the Pakistani frontier clashed with the Mujahideen Wednesday and some of their artillery fire went over the border. The shells hit an Afghan refugee camp at Ghoz Gari in Pakistan's Kurram Agency, they said. A combined Afghan and Soviet armored column has been operating for the past week near the Pakistani border in Afghanistan's Paktia Province. Large areas of Paktia are held by Mujahideen and they have reported heavy fighting. The Khyber Post reported in its Friday editions that three people had been killed in an Afghan incursion, but said the deaths were caused by an air attack. The newspaper reported that Afghan air force planes had violated Pakistani air space four times Wednesday and Thursday. Pakistani government officials declined to comment on the reports. Islamic fighters are fighting the communist government of Afghanistan which is supported by an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops. Fighting in the border region often spills into Pakistan which allows the Mujahideen to operate from its territory. Meanwhile, it was reported Afghan Mujahideen managed to destroy six military bases of the Soviet-Karmal joint forces in Herat and Qandahar provinces. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

SOVIET MIG DOWNED--London, Feb 28 (IRNA)--Afghan freedom fighters frustrated another military action in Farah Province in Western Afghanistan. Afghan Agency Press (AAP) reported that on Feb 12 Soviet-Karmal troops with helicopter gunships and MiG planes launched the attack in Sharafat Koh area. The troops encircled Kashak and Gudali areas where the Mujahideen had already taken positions. As they confronted the troops the Mujahideen started shelling through light guns and rocket launchers and after four days of fierce fighting the invaders escaped picking up 32 dead bodies. During prolonged resistance six Mujahideen were martyred. A MiG was downed by the anti aircraft guns of the Mujahideen and the invading troops lost four tanks, nine trucks and two army jeeps while 27 troops were captured. Meanwhile according to a report received from Ningarhar Province, the Mujahideen of Hezb-i-Islami launched an attack at an army post in Vhaghari area of Uchin subdivision on Jan 22. The joint forces fled away without

any resistance and later the Mujahideen reduced the army post to debris by throwing hand grenades. In the meanwhile, the Mujahideen clashed with a mobile force in Yaha Khel area of Paktia Province on Jan 27, as a result of which several troops were killed. 18 kalashinkovs and a lot of ammunition were seized from them. Three Mujahideen were martyred and seven others injured. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 1 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

CAMP DESTROYED--London, Mar 17 (IRNA)--A joint Afghan and Soviet troops' camp 7 kilometers from Naziyan township in Shinwar division of Ningarhar Province has been totally destroyed by the Mujahideen. Naziyan was the scene of the bloodiest clashes in Ningarhar last month. The offensive was dislodged by a joint resistance of various groups of Mujahideen, Hezb-e-Islami, Ittehad-e-Islami (Khales group) and Harakat Inqilab-e-Islami (Mansoor group). The latest attack on March 8 was commanded by Hikmatyar, the leader of Hezb-e-Islami. He has been in Ningrahar since mid-February to re-organize Mujahideen loyal to him. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 18 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

CSO: 4600/265

NECESSARY CONDITIONS SAID TO BE AT HAND 'TO PUNISH AGGRESSOR'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 13 Feb 86 pp 1, 14

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

This week, the Islamic Revolution conducted a dazzling show of force to let friends and foes know that, this revolution, at the start of the 8th anniversary of its victory, ever grand and ever powerful, moves ahead and overcomes the barriers with the power of the brave sons of the nation.

This week many events took place in the four corners of the world and there were many comings and goings, but all those events were overshadowed by the latest offensive of the Islamic Army against the Iraqi Army installations. The majesty of what was done by the combatants of the Islamic Army was such that even according to the media of world arrogance, it was considered the main event and news of these fantastic operations were at the top of the world news bulletins. Therefore it seems to be logical to conduct this week's analysis about the imposed war on the 8th anniversary of the victory of the revolution. A nation revolted here to implement the laws of God. This nation declared unequivocally that it will not bow to any force or any law that is contrary to the laws of God. This nation wanted one thing and that was to live free and independent under the protection of Islamic rule. The struggle to achieve this logical goal is indeed the undisputed right of a nation. But world arrogance showed such impatience in confronting Islam that it, in order to break down this revolution and silence the Islam-seeking cries of this nation, used all means available to it from the beginning.

It will be amazing for nations of the world to know that during these seven years, subversive acts of the arrogants against this revolution have not ceased for even a short moment. What could be the response of a nation to those who try to drag its goals to defeat? Every free nation that has struggled to achieve sovereignty to be able to hold its head up high, can understand the example set forth by the Iranian nation's steadfastness in protecting the majesty of the revolution and its implementation.

We should bear in mind that the war was imposed on us only 18 months after the birth of the revolution. Indeed, Saddam and the regime of Baghdad were commissioned to destroy the revolution at a time when Iranian people had

celebrated the anniversary of the revolution only once. From that point on, the arrogants of east and west have applied all their efforts to put off the flames of the revolution led by pure Mohammadan Islamic principles. What we've witnessed is the equal defeat of the east and west in their confrontation with the Islamic world movement.

It is the right of a nation to defend its integrity and values. This is the right of a nation to punish an aggressor in such a way that it can live within secure and safe borders, with the thought of a bright future and without war and agression. It is the right of a nation to act so decisively in destroying aggressors and war criminals to appall and confuse their supporters. And this is what the brave Iranian nation did. Iranian people did what was expected of them. What we've witnessed these days at the fronts and behind the lines may have been unexpected for the east and west arrogance, but these amazing scenes have not been the first show of force of the followers of Islam and surely will not be the last.

Those who were bent on destroying the revolution and Islam, those who could not hide their pleasure from propagation of the wave of terrorism in Iran, those who were celebrating the martyrdom of the dear children of this nation, those who had resorted to the weapon of oil and fluctuation of its price to bring this nation to its knees, those who still imagine they can implement their satanic designs in Islamic lands, should know that if a nation and a revolution senses its duties, such hell will be risen that the enemies of Islam and the revolution will surely realize their weakness.

Combatants of the Islamic Army have created a new excitement in the fronts.

This legacy reached new dimensions on the 22 Bahman [11 February] with the massive demonstrations of people and the majesty of it multiplied.

There is not a definite explanation for the dilemma that the people who are behind the high morale of the combatants in the war fronts or the Islamic fighters are the reason for the high morale of the people.

That brave combatant, whose name brings fear to the heart of the enemy, humbly states that the presence of people on the scene is what has given him courage. The crowds who were present at the demonstrations on the 22 Bahman, have proven with their generous acts that the braveries of the combatants of the Islamic Army have been the cause for the boiling of their blood.

Indeed, which is the cause and which is the effect and what is this excitement that has befallen the hearts and the cause for Godliness of all? This is the art of Islamic leadership that has brought the hearts so close to each other and has given all such unity.

The symbol of this leadership humbly declares that all is coming from the nation and gratiousness of God and considers himself a drop in this roving sea where in fact, he is the starting element of this excitement and movement.

The world should and indeed does know that the Islamic rule and leadership in this land has united the hearts in such a way that there is not a single crack left open for the infiltration of the east and west and their criminal agents. What has been taking place at the fronts and behind the lines and what is being witnessed by the world, is the show of force of a revolution led by Islam.

What has amazed the world so far is nothing but the limited show of force of a few divisions of the "pilgrims of Karbala". There are many more divisions waiting here and there, for the order to fight and to steal the sleep from the eyes of the Bathists throughout the war front. They are ready to create such fear in the hearts of the supporters of Baghdad so that they have no other way but to accept justice and confess to the righteousness of this oppressed nation.

This nation has not asked for more than what is its inalienable rights. And, it will never consent to anything less. If supporters of the Bathists want to see an end to this war, they should withhold their support from this war criminal for only one day so that the Islamic Army, with its undeniable decisiveness, punishes and dries the roots of its aggression once and for all. This will bring peace and tranquility to the nations of the region and only under such conditions nations can develop bonds of friendship and fraternity.

Now a few words for the [imperial] courts of the region: Do the courts in the region not see the result of their all-encompassing support for these war criminals? Is this show of force by the "pilgrims of Karbala" not an adequate warning for them? Do they wish to have their destinies interlocked with the destinies of the war criminals?

What does the court of Kuwait think that it hesitates to separate itself from the aggressors? Opportunities are being lost and the court of Kuwait still plays ignorant. Opportunities pass and the Kuwaiti press still has not refrained form praising the war criminals. How could the Kuwaiti court be hopeful about its future in the aftermath of the fall of the Baghdad regime?

Reports indicate that the flood of weapons pass through Kuwaiti boarders to feed the attrition-plagued war machine of the Bathist Army. Can Kuwait afford to be accountable for all this evil?

The warning issued by the president of the supreme defense council and dispatch of an emissary to Kuwait by the president were in no way requests from Kuwait to pull itself away from this adventure. But, it was a serious warning to the sheikhs of Kuwait to make them realize that the Islamic combatants in order to silence the guns of aggressors used against them, will act no matter where these guns may be located. Surely this cannot and will not be pleasant for the Kuwaiti court.

The period of no-risk investments in the war have come to an end. The Kuwaiti sheikhs must understand that there is not much time left for them to pull away from this killing round. If they don't, fallouts resulting from such conditions will inevitably plague them and they do not have the ability to withstand them.

Victory of the Islamic Revolution was an experience that showed nations are generally patient only as long as their cup of patience has not run dry. Nations are tolerant only as long as the criminals have not passed the limit of impudence. When this shamelessness surpasses the limits and nation's patience has run dry, then nothing can stop their actions. They will rise and discipline their enemy in a deserving manner.

Now, once again, blood is boiling. The nation, during the 22 Bahman ceremonies showed that necessary conditions are at hand to punish the aggressor. The nation has declared that its mind is firmly made up to take care of this important task. In a condition like this, American AWACS' and the spy networks of the arrogants have no effect on the process of events. Complicated and ultramodern weapons lose their effectiveness and generals of the Bathist Army turn into incompetent and useless individuals not capable of performing the simplest of any task. The Islamic combatants gain energy and strength from these events and soldiers of the Bathists Army prove, with their erratic behavior, that they have no motivation to continue with their aimless war. The enemy becomes lost and confused and their pilots bomb their own installations. Perhaps this is the best picture of "Saddam's Qadesieh" before the eyes of the contemporary world.

A war that was started for the destruction of Islam and is ending with more proof of the power of Islam. How miserable are those who attempted the destruction of Islam and nothing but pain and infamy is awaiting them. They see the signs of these with their own eyes and this is the natural effect of opposition to Islam.

Peace.

13182/12624
CSO: 4640/225

POLICE RESCUE BAZARGAN FROM HEZBOLLAH DEMONSTRATORS

London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Mar 86 pp 1,3

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] KEYHAN NEWS SERVICE--In a confrontation between representatives of the Hezbollah and members of the Freedom Movement some people were subjected to slander and physical attack. In an information bulletin, the Freedom Movement said that this year it had made special arrangements for the 11 February commemoration. But, in view of the problems that had occurred last year, it had been agreed to hold these ceremonies on 12 February instead of 11 February. Refering to the confrontation and other happenings at this year's ceremony on 12 February, the Freedom Movement then continued to write in its bulletin:

"In order to prevent probable disruption, no notice was placed in the newspaper, and interested parties were invited by special cards to participate in the program. Not having been spared the harm of the opposition, however, it was deemed necessary to inform our friends by a special news bulletin of the problems that arose."

The bulletin referred to Mr Bazargan's speech and said: "Due to the recent events of 12 November 1985 and those of 11 February of last year, this year, the 11 February commemoration was scheduled for 12 February, and the Ministry of State was duly informed. From the start of the program Police and Central Committee forces were present in front of and on the sides of the Movement building. It should be mentioned that for the first time Komiteh forces had been summoned to provide security along with police forces from the beginning of the program and reciting a few verses from the Koran, Mr Bazargan began his speech. At the outset of the speech a group wearing similar greenish overcoats or raincoats gathered in front of the building. At 3:45, when their number reached about 15, they assembled in front of the entrance of the building and started such slogans as 'Death to America'-'Neither Eastern nor Western'; police officers, who wanted to establish peace and to ensure that the meeting could be carried out free of danger, guided them to the sidewalk on the opposite side of the building, and the demonstrators while walking in that direction changed their slogans to 'Death to the Liberal' and 'Death to Bazargan'. Around 4:10 their number reached around 25 and, headed by a person who was wearing a blue raincoat, they went to the opposite side of the

street intending to intimidate and to disrupt the program with such slogans as 'Hezbollah, Hezbollah will die before Ruhollah' and 'Death to Bazargan' and 'Bazargan, beware! Followers of Hezbollah are lying in wait for you'; after a while (about 10 minutes), against the resistance of the Police and the Komiteh forces, the person who acted as their leader once more came to the other side of the street (facing the entrance of the building), and the others, following his example, one by one gathered in front of the entrance and increased the vehemence of their slogans. At this time, the Police kept asking them through loudspeakers from their cars to keep quiet and to disperse, but they were intent on disrupting the meeting and did not pay attention, so that the intensity of the demonstration and the worry on the part of the police about probable dangers resulted in asking those in charge of the Movement to cut the program short. The program ended at 4:30, half an hour earlier than the announced schedule. At the end of the program and while Mr Bazargan was being helped towards the car by police officers, they (those who had previously chanted 'Hezbollah cannot be overtaken') attacked the car with fist blows on the doors and windows, while chanting 'Death to Bazargan'. At the end of the speech, while the guests were leaving the assembly hall, the intruders physically attacked, and injured the guests in front of the building, at street intersections, and on the streets behind the office, while asking 'What were you doing in this spy den?', they inflicted mostly nose injuries on a great number of the guests. Meanwhile, after the end of Mr Bazargan's speech and his exit from the building accompanied by Dr Sahabi, about 50 persons who presented themselves as Hezbollah by chanting 'Hezbollah cannot be overtaken' gathered in front of the building on the eastern side of the Movement headquarters continuing with such slogans as 'Death to Bazargan', 'Death to America', 'We are the followers of the Koran, we don't want the Liberal'; at this time a religious person (Sheykh) and his accompanying bodyguard appeared in the midst of the group, and he read a two-point statement, accompanied by the voiced assent of those present:

1 - We ask the government of the Islamic Republic to close down this den, which is a place for propagation of American and French ways of thinking, and which is against the Velayat-e Faqih in order to preserve the Revolution and to defend the martyrs' blood. Because we have a responsibility towards the martyrs' blood, and under conditions where yesterday about 24 million people participated in a march, the Freedom Movement must not feed propaganda material to the foreign press. On the other hand, their number does not exceed that of the fingers on one hand.

2 - We ask the Ministry of Interior from now on not to issue written authorization for similar gatherings and not to allow any group to plot against the Revolution in this tower of silence. If these people are on the side of the Revolution, they should have participated in yesterday's march like other groups did, walking in front of the marchers. Another group used the lull to remove the cloth banner of the Freedom Movement from the wall in front of the building and in spite of this act remained there. After all the guests had left the building and following pressure and insistence by the forces of the Komiteh and the police, the intruders left the area around 6 o'clock."

13065/7358
CSO: 4640/222

CASUALTIES IN 1985 ESTIMATED AT 100 THOUSAND BY EMIGRE PAPER

London KEYHAN in Persian 20 Mar 86 p 15

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] We began the year 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] at a time when with the arrival of the new year in Iran more than 50,000 families had lost their loved ones in the bloodstained swamps of Hoveyzeh. Likewise, we are finishing the year at a time when we estimate 100,000 casualties for one year of the war.

Last year the new year arrived with a sadder and more grievous outlook than the year before throughout the down-hearted and mournful cities of Iran. At the beginning of the new year millions of Iranians gathered around the Haft-sin tables under circumstances which undoubtedly can be tolerated only by an ancient and historic nation who has suffered many similar mournful new years during its history.

We began the year 1364 with the pictures of thousands of Iranian young men whose bloodied bodies were strewn throughout the southern swamps of Iraq and we are ending the year at a time when once again the "illusion of establishing a new government in Baghdad" and "the victory of Jerusalem by way of Karbala" makes ayatollah Khomeyni dispatch thousands of Iranians to the palm groves and salt swamps of the Al-Faw peninsula.

No one will know for sure how many of these thousands of young men will witness the arrival of another new year; however, with a brief look over the obituaries and pages of condolences in the regime's newspapers and reading the reports of foreign correspondents who have visited the Val-Fajr-8 operational theatre, one can see that again this year the new year will arrive clad in black and thousands of Iranian families will be bidding farewell to the year 1364 with tearful eyes. All because those families have lost their loved ones as a result of the melancholic illusions of a man who calls himself the leader of Muslems; they have to live and grieve over the thought that the bodies of their loved ones have to decompose in the salt swamps.

The new year day of 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] is the eight mirthless and woeful one. It is eight years now that no one hears the voice of Mr Rashed at the time of the arrival of the new year anymore. Nowadays, instead of the pleasant voice of Mr Rashed which used to be heard over the radio praying to God for a better year than before, we hear ayatollah Khomeyni's voice who beseeches

almighty God to unite the spirit of the Islamic combatants with those of other residents of the heaven or paradise.

A brief look at the year 1364 will give us an opportunity to investigate the ups and downs of the Iranian people in a very tumultuous year. In the past year, while the Islamic Republic regime claimed that it has become ever more stabilized and that by destroying the resistance cores it has acquired an everlasting position for itself, it used a more decisive language with the Iranian people. Notwithstanding, the same regime in its relations and dialogues with the rest of the world put aside its frequently used domestic mottos and tried through the use of a reconciliatory and propitiative language to break its isolation. Such extreme double standards have been the main reason for the regime of ayatollahs not to be considered as a firmly established or stabilized government by those from whom the ayatollahs would like to hear such statements.

War of Cities

The inhabitants of 27 Iranian towns and cities welcomed the arrival of the new year in total darkness. These cities which have been targets of Iraqi war planes have been celebrating their new year in gloomy silence.

In his new year's message, which was devoid of any heartwarming or blissful words, ayatollah Khomeyni imparted the news of the war which is going to continue for another year and until the time when he attains his wish, that is the conquest of Karbala, it would be quite futile to talk about ending the war.

During the month of Farvardin [21 March - 20 April] no important event took place in Iran except that a large number of foreign correspondents, who in order to cover the tragic nightly emigration of the capital's inhabitants who take refuge in the surrounding deserts and valleys of Tehran, travelled to this city and reported their findings in the western press. The unfavorable and inauspicious aspect of some of these tragic reports which have been eagerly followed by Iranians who live abroad either by reading newspapers, watching television or listening to the radio. This bitter experience was particularly felt by those Iranians who live outside the country during the last part of the month of Farvardin. It was during this interval that Mrs Katti Evans, one of the columnists of the FINANCIAL TIMES relayed the nightly sufferings and afflictions of the capital's inhabitants in her series of relevant reports. She talked about the people who were stung by snakes, the people who shivered in the cold of the night and the lines and processions of people who became victims of Saddam's bombs along the Karaj road.

We left behind the month of Farvardin under circumstances where there was no sign of any new changes in the war or any transformation in the social and political life of the people.

Escape of the President's Sister

The beginning of the month of Ordibehesht [21 April - 20 May] was combined with an intensified aerial attack of the Iraqi air force against the Iranian cities.

In the first week of this month the first ray of hope was seen for finding a just solution for ending the war in the region.

The Arab states of the Persian Gulf littoral region, who were concerned as a result of an intensified war between the cities of the two warring nations and were worried about the expansion of the war by the Islamic Republic, held a series of meetings at the beginning of the month of Ordibehesht, at the level of their foreign ministers in Riyadh and Kuwait. At the same time the Islamic Republic regime, which had become extremely apprehensive as a result of the nightly Iraqi aerial attacks on the Iranian cities, in the second week of the said month dispatched some representatives to a few member countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. On the 12th day of the said month it was announced that Sa'ud al-Faysal Al Sa'ud, the foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, will visit Tehran shortly. Announcement of this news was not very exciting for the people who had come to know death and destruction every night, however the very news which was announced by the world news media during the third week of this month was by far more interesting than the visit of the Saudi Arabian foreign minister.

During the week in question the world news media announced from Baghdad that Mrs Badri Hoseyn Khamene'i, the sister of the Islamic Republic president and the wife of ayatollah Sheykh Ali Tehrani--one of the well-known students of ayatollah Khomeyni--had escaped to Iraq. In an interview with the correspondents, Mrs Khamene'i cited the reason for her own escape and that of her children from Iran, a lack of freedom and announced that in spite of the fact that her brother is the president of Iran, yet as a result of the escape of her own husband, ayatollah Tehrani, to Iraq, she had been severely harmed and insulted by the security officials of the Iranian regime and finally was forced to escape from Iran with the help of some of her friends and acquaintances.

At the same time, the leading opponents of Khamene'i, with the president of the parliament Hashemi Rafsanjani at their head, tried to use the occasion and the matter of her sister's escape by inflicting him with a blow. However, Khamene'i who is no less cunning than his rivals, at a Friday prayers session in a lengthy sermon brought up the story of Imam Ali and his brother Aqil and stated that although Aqil was Ali's brother yet he became one of the functionaries of Mo'avieh [who was Ali's rival]. No one ever considered Aqil's action as something done by Ali, therefore even in the present day no one should consider the erroneous action or mistake of family members of the responsible officials as those committed by the officials themselves.

At the end of Ordibehesht, the state visit of Sa'ud al-Faysal took place and nothing came out of all his dialogues since none of the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic could impart their true intentions to him. In reality, on the first day of the arrival of al-Faysal in Tehran, ayatollah Khomeyni with the announcement that "the war is one of our holy duties and should continue until we uproot all the blasphemy," blocked the way for any possible reconciliation by his responsible officials.

Although the month of Ordibehesht had a bloody beginning, by the end of the month the world witnessed a glorious and wonderful act which attracted attention and discussion for a while.

It was on the 27th of this month that the inhabitants of Tehran and other cities gathered for a silent political march through the streets according to the invitation of Dr Shapur Bakhtiar, the leader of the National Resistance Movement of Iran.

The REUTER correspondent who dispatched the first report of this day was expelled from the country as an undesirable person. According to his report on that day Tehran was full of life and mirth. The people either walking or riding in their cars brought the Pahlavi Avenue under their conquest while the angry and worried guards could do nothing but watch the wave of human multitude.

The day after the demonstration, ayatollah Reyshahri, minister of intelligence and information of the regime, threatened that hereafter more decisive actions would be taken against such clever and cunning demonstrations.

Terrorists and the Month of Khordad

Once again in the month of Khordad [22 May - 21 June] rumors concerning an imminent large-scale offensive which was going to be implemented by the two warring countries of Iran and Iraq became strong. It was under such circumstances that the bombardment of cities was still continuing. At this time, when the Iranian regime was faced with curious and quaint dilemma it claimed that the regime had prepared two million new Iranian combatants for joining the other warriors in the battlefield during the first week of Khordad. However, the interview with the chief of the Conscription Department revealed that simultaneously with the announcement of the mobilization of two million young combatants, the Conscription Department was looking for thousands of absentee draftees. According to the chief of the Conscription Department, if such draftees did not present themselves for military service within one month of the announcement, they would be duly convicted in absentia by pertinent military courts.

Once more in the middle of the month of Khordad the world noticed the coalition of the Islamic regime and the international terrorists. On the one hand, some of the mercenaries of the regime hijacked a TWA passenger plane and after an odyssey which covered some of the Mediterranean countries, the hijackers took the plane with its unfortunate American passengers to the Beirut airport.

The story of the U.S. officials' negotiations with the Amal movement, which was trying to bring an end to the incident without bloodshed, is quite clear to everyone. The important point is that during all the intervening time when the hijackers held the American citizens captive, the charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic in Beirut was in contact with the leaders of the hijackers--the Hezbollah, the headquarters of the Amal movement and the Imam Ali Mosque in which Sheykh Mohammad Hoseyn Fazlollah is settled.

Finally, this incident was resolved by threats from the western world and winning the release of some Palestinian prisoners from Israel, through the help and efforts of the Amal movement. Right about the same interval a few hundred kilometers from Beirut--close to the southern borders of Iran, the mercenaries of the Islamic regime in another terrorist operation tried to murder the emir of Kuwait.

Until that date, the democratic-minded Kuwaiti emir liked to mingle with the ordinary people. The aforesaid attempt on his life occurred at a time when he was on his way to the prime minister's office when he became the target of an attack by an automobile full of explosives which was driven by one of the ayatollah's henchmen.

At the instant of collision, the assailant's car exploded and instead of the emir the driver of that car war killed . ile the Kuwaiti emir suffered only superficial injuries and later on he sent a message to his own people to assure them of his complete health.

At this juncture in Tehran where the regime of the ayatollahs had faced another defeat, warned Kuwait that it should avoid being belligerent to Iran, otherwise a second time around the emir might not be as lucky as the first time.

Visit to China and Japan

The hot summer of Iran was even hotter by the bustle and bluster of the powerful man of the regime's visit, Hashemi Rafsanjani to Syria, Libya, China and Japan. The president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, who likes to be officially recognized by all as the highest-ranking responsible authority of domestic and international policy of the regime, received promises of assistance and help from Libya's Qaddafi and Syria's Assad and similarly in China and Japan he tried to present himself as one interested in logic and close relations with the East and the West.

The Chinese spread out the red carpet for Rafsanjani, and the poor Hojjat ol-Islam, who until the advent of the revolution had not seen more than the immediate villages of Rafsanjan, while in Tokyo went to see the Emperor's palace and became a companion of the Japan's satan [ruler]. The reception which was given in honor of the Majlis president by the Japan's emperor presented a good excuse for the opponents of Rafsanjani to rebuke him for him submissiveness and humbleness or modesty before the "son of the sun." Many of the western mass media welcomed the new attitude of the Hashemi Rafsanjani and particularly in Washington many called him the logical and moderate man of the regime while no one except the western people ever would accept or believe that the surly and sullen president of the Majlis will change his hawkish posture to dovish. But still the West is hopeful that a moderate voice will rise from inside the regime and put an end to all acts of extremism. Therefore, it is no surprise to see that Hashemi Rafsanjani has been shown to appear as a logical and moderate man by the American press.

Near the end of the month of Tir [22 June - 22 July] the subject of the election of the president became one of the hottest domestic issues of the country. Some of the gullible individuals who thought that the entangled economic and social affairs of the regime might eventually force the ayatollah Khomeyni to give in to a free election, once more were deceived by the regime's propaganda and some of those individuals announced their candidacy for president.

It was only the western mass media which took seriously the mere mention of such individuals as Engineer Mehdi Bazargan, Dr Ebrahim Yazdi and Ahmad Sadr-e Hajj Seyyed-Javadi among the list of the names of candidates for president, otherwise in Iran every one knew that this time the name of one of imam's cronies would also come out of the ballot boxes too.

Tumultuous Elections

While inside the country, throughout the month of Mordad [23 July - 22 August] the ruling regime was preparing to hold the presidential elections, outside the country and during the Hajj ceremonies, the martyrs' families and Hezbollahis according to the recommendations of the regime's responsible officials once more tried to change the religious Hajj ceremonies into another political festival by staging demonstrations and undertaking long marches. The Saudi authorities who until then had dealt quite moderately with the elements of the regime, this time took a more decisive step to prevent the staging of any demonstration and treated the Hezbollahis in such an unfriendly manner that according to the words of ayatollah Karubi [the Hajj representative leader from Khomeyni's regime], such harsh treatment was not even given by the Damascus rulers toward the family members of Imam Hoseyn.

In Tehran, after investigating the names of the candidates for president, the Guardian Council confirmed only the competence and qualifications of Seyyed Ali Khamene'i, Habibollah Asgar-Ovladi Mosalman and Mohammad Mustafa Kashani, son of ayatollah Kashani.

Thus, as it was expected Bazargan did not find the chance or an opportunity to try his luck once more and this same issue finally caused him and his followers to boycott the elections.

Eventually, the presidential elections were carried out at the end of the month of Mordad and the interesting point here was that the reduced number of the voters was so significant that it forced the regime to announce that the number of balloters had considerably decreased in comparison to the previous time.

Mr Seyyed Ali Khamene'i, who had in his first term won the support of 16 million voters' credit, this time could not win the support of more than 10 million people. His two other rivals who had entered the election race--only to keep the matter somewhat specious--also exited with very insignificant result.

By hook or by crook, the elections were held and Seyyed Khamene'i was reinstated for another four year term. All this happened at a time when his main rival,

that is to say Hashemi Rafsanjani, who was not very happy with the re-election of Khamene'i, tried somehow to loosen Khamene'i's grip over the government. And as we saw, somewhat he succeeded in doing so by supporting the re-election of Musavi as the prime minister [who follows Rafsanjani's orders] and thus did not allow Khamene'i to win this game of power play.

The Mysterious Airplane

The month of Shahrivar [23 August - 22 September] began with the heart-warming words of the ayatollah Khomeyni in support of the government. The leader of the Islamic Republic cautioned the responsible officials of the country to stop further weakening of the government and stated that we do not have any one more capable or competent than Mr Musavi.

Despite this warning from the ayatollah, the "Government Week" in the month of Shahrivar presented an opportunity to the opponents of Musavi and the president of the parliament to use the Majlis polium to severely criticize the government and accuse Musavi of being an incompetent and incapable individual.

Simultaneously, with the widening of the rift between the two rival groups in the Majlis, the aerial raids of Iraq against Iranian border cities after a short pause were also intensified.

Furthermore, during the month of Shahrivar, the short trip of Engineer Bazargan to Germany created a tremendous uproar and many people associated this trip with the secret negotiations of the West with one of the ruling wings in Iran.

Likewise, in Europe the flight of a mysterious DC-8, U.S. plane which had taken off from Tabriz and as a result of inclement weather had to land in Israel, met with a lot of clamor and hullabaloo. At the same time, the Islamic regime totally denied any and all the happenings and later on it became quite clear that this plane carried war materiel for the Islamic Republic from Israel a long time since.

At the beginning of the month of Mehr [23 September - 22 October], the matter of re-election of Musavi as the prime minister intensified the quarrel between Khamene'i and Rafsanjani. Some of the Majlis deputies associated with Rafsanjani, through publication of a letter addressed to the president criticized his actions and close cronies and accordingly Khamene'i delivered a quick rebuttal and counter-attack through his own close cronies in the Majlis. For instance, when the Majlis deputies attacked and accused Mohammad Gharazi, the petroleum minister, one of Khamene'i's associate, of embezzlement or misappropriation, Khamene'i in turn attacked the person of Musavi and accused the government of inefficiency and incompetency. These altercations finally forced the intercession of Khomeyni who cautioned the responsible officials of the government to stop further bickering, otherwise such separative disjunction would only help to destroy the Islamic Republic by its own hands.

It was during this month that a large-scale naval maneuver was performed in the Persian Gulf by the Iranian navy with Khamene'i in attendance. Since his re-

election, the president has made an effort to become closely associated with the army people. As an evidence to this assumption, his participation in all the military ceremonies and his close association with the military people all indicate that he has left the Guards Corps for his rival, Rafsanjani, while he has focused his attention to the army alone.

At the end of the month of Mehr the government sent the bill for the collection of the war excise tax to the Majlis and proposed deducting part of the salaries of the government employees as the war excise tax. Furthermore, during this month, an OPEC session ended without any results.

At the time, the Islamic Republic and some other OPEC member countries without paying any attention to the warnings of Saudi Arabia regarding the need for a reduction in production, kept selling more oil than their allowable quota and such a measure caused the decrease of oil prices to the extent that we are witnessing today.

During the month of Aban [23 October - 21 November] the attack of Iraqi war planes against oil tankers and Iranian oil installations was intensified and it was in this month that our oil installations on Kharg island were furiously bombarded several times. As a counterattack, the Islamic regime threatened that it would close the Hormoz Straits, but such a threat never materialized.

Inspection of Steamships

Simultaneously, with the vote of confidence by the Majlis for Musavi's cabinet, in Tehran a verbal war between the regime's prosecutor general and that of the state supreme court chief broke out regarding the confiscation of real estate and properties of the people. And while the socialist prosecutor general of the mullahs prepared himself for a complete destruction of the small land-holders, the state supreme court chief expressed his support for the capitalists. Moreover, once again Khomeyni was forced to intercede in this regard and ordered an end to the seizure or confiscation of people's property. It was during this month that as a result of the explosion of a bomb in Nasser Khosrow Avenue in Tehran a large number of passers-by were killed and injured.

Moreover, Iraq staged further attacks on the industrial installations of Navard in Ahwaz and the mercenaries of the Islamic Republic in Lebanon kidnapped four Soviet diplomats. The kidnappers made the release of the hostages dependent on the discontinuation of the siege on Tripoli by the Syrian forces and other allies of that country.

Two days after this incident, the body of one of the Soviet diplomats was found. In Tehran while warning the Islamic Republic, the Soviet Embassy cautioned the responsible officials of the regime that Moscow would hold the Islamic Republic responsible for the safety of its diplomats.

Three days later the Soviet diplomats were released and it was learned subsequently that in Beirut, the agents of the Soviet Embassy in that city after kid-

napping several family members of Sheykh Ebrahim ol-Amin, the leader of the Hezbollah and murdering one of the hostages they had sent a message to the other kidnappers that if they did not release the Soviet hostages promptly, they would never again live to see any family members of the Hezbollah leader. This threat worked and the terrorists were forced to release the Soviet diplomats.

In the month of Azar [22 November - 21 December] the squabblings of the two ministers of defense and that of the corps pertaining to the location and time schedule of the massive military operations against Iraq leaked outside the borders of the country and the western press became aware of it. In London, the OBSERVER revealed the news and made it known that Colonel Mohammad Hoseyn Jalali, the Iranian defense minister who had the support of the president was not ready to accept the plans and recommendations of the corps, thereafter.

During this month, Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, made a trip to Saudi Arabia and visited king Fahd and some of the leaders of that country. The result of this visit was an interruption of radio attacks against the Saudi government for two days.

It was at the end of this month that as a result of the complaint of a Hezbollahi, Engineer Bazargan was summoned to the court and he was instructed that he would not be allowed to leave Tehran anymore. Furthermore, during the discussion on the budget bill in the Islamic Consultative Assembly other interesting matters came to light such as the increase of the military budget to the tune of 700 million dollars.

As a result of the aggravation of Khomeyni's illness during this month, the Assembly of Experts held a meeting and in an atmosphere full of suspicion, uproar and commotion, finally with the vote of 53 representatives approved the succession of Montazeri upon the death of Khomeyni.

This decision of the Assembly of the Experts faced the intense opposition of the clerics inside the country. At the head of the clerics, ayatollah Seyyed Sadegh Ruhani called this selection non-Islamic and non-national and severely criticized Montazeri as the successor of Khomeyni. The result of this protest was to bring a halt to his classes and instead of teaching he chose to stay at home. So far he has not resumed teaching and is under surveillance and furthermore he is not allowed to lead a prayer group anymore.

At the beginning of the month of Dey [22 December - 20 January] with the resumption of intense Iraqi bombing of Kharg island, the export of Iranian oil literally came to a halt. It was under such circumstances that it was said that the Islamic Republic has no other choice but to launch a massive counterattack against Iraq by land.

The arrival of ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, one of the powerful and well-known clerics of the regime in London in this month caused the spread of some rumors and other various rumbles. So much so that even the OBSERVER connected this trip to the

war and wrote: Kani is supposed to talk about the war with one of the Saudi princes.

Once more in this month the terrorists' attack on Rome and Vienna airports implicated the involvement of the Islamic Republic regime as official supporter of international terrorism. The day after the Rome incident, Admiral Martini, chief of Italian military intelligence announced that the terrorists had been trained in Iran and came to Rome by way of Syria.

Intelligence/Information College

At the beginning of the month of Dey, the publication of the letters of the Freedom Movement in protest of the Hezbollah and the plan of the said movement to bring about an end to the war created quite an uproar within the country. As regards the activities of the dissidents and the blows which have been inflicted by the Ministry of Information on these groups and other pertinent issues, ayatollah Reyshahri made detailed statements. One of the points which was discussed by Reyshahri was the formation of the Intelligence College for the training of intelligence agents. In the middle of the month in question the Iranian war vessels stopped and searched one U.S. and one British steamship in the Persian Gulf and the mild reaction of the British and United States' governments toward these incidents quite surprised the western mass media.

Moreover, the trip of a French parliamentary delegation to Tehran to discuss the mutual problems of the two nations was one of the main events of that month. The French delegation returned to Paris without gaining any convincing reply from the Islamic Republic to the proposals of the French government.

During the month of Bahman [21 January - 19 February], the festivities and ceremonies pertaining to the 10th of Fajr, the presence of the leaders of most notorious terrorist groups and networks from around the world who had gathered in Tehran, and the visit of Korniyenko, 1st deputy foreign minister of Soviet Union to Tehran were some of the major events of this month.

During his three days of discussion with the authorities of the Islamic regime, Korniyenko could not finally win the agreement of the government to bring an end to the war. Furthermore, during this month the trip of Khamene'i to Pakistan and four African countries ended with an uproar regarding the participation of the women in a party which was given in honor of Khamene'i by the prime minister of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. And on the 21st of Bahman [10th February] the expected offensive attack under the name of Val-Fajr-8 began on the peninsula of Al-Faw.

As a result of the sharp reduction in oil prices which had caused great damages to the economy of Iran, the Islamic regime through its military attack tried to force other oil-producing nations of the region to stop assisting or supporting Iraq. However, the only result of such efforts was further consolidation of the relations between Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and the loss of the lives of tens of thousands of troops.

Other squirmishes of the regime's agents with the tribal people of Baluch in Sistan and Baluchestan consisted some of the events of the month of Bahman which are still continuing.

The month of Esfand [20 February - 20 March] began with the start of the operations of Val-Fajr-9 in the northern war front, and the crash of the plane which was carrying some of the officials of the Guards Corps, amongst whom ayatollah Fazlollah Mahallati, consisted other events of that month.

In reality, the year 1364 which had begun with carnage and bloodshed, also ended with bloodshed and carnage. The grief-stricken and heart-broken Iranian people found no relief from the war cries and hate-ridden trumpet calls of the ayatollahs to welcome the arrival of the new year 1365. We hope that this year is the last year of afflictions and woes.

12719
CSO: 4640/230

ALL SECTORS OF SOCIETY STRIVING TO BOOST INCOME

Bangkok THE NATION in English 1 Apr 86 p 28

[Text]

TEHRAN — Milling on a busy pavement by the bazaar, scruffy Turkish-speaking Iranian youths are hawking a handful of zippers.

It seems a tough life for the growing number of roadside vendors in the capital, but they are far from starving.

"It's not bad. I make 1,500 rials ($18) a day," said Latif Ghanbar-Nejad, 22.

"There is other work, but we've got used to this," chimed in Abdullah Naimi, 17.

With Iran now in the sixth year of a war with Iraq, unemployment is estimated at 20 per cent and the economy depressed.

The zip-sellers symbolize a grey area of the economy where most Iranians earn their living, lengthening working hours and lowering their expectations.

A taxi driver by night may be a retired army colonel, a highly-qualified engineer or a government employee by day.

The problem for industry, with nearly 8,000 factories idling, is an acute shortage of foreign currency to buy most of the raw materials needed from abroad.

Iran earns some 95 per cent of its hard currency from oil exports and after the recent collapse in petroleum prices, diplomats estimate the country's purchasing power will be halved in the new financial year to March 1987.

Non-war industry will bear the brunt of the cuts.

Diplomats expect the war, food imports and medicines to swallow the $6 billion Iran is likely to earn at current prices and export levels in the new fiscal year. These essentials already cost $9 billion this year.

The government has cast around for other income. Taxes are multiplying and tax revenue went up 12 per cent this year. Non-oil exports have also shot up by a quarter, but are no alternative to oil earning just $400 million a year.

Iran has so far avoided incurring any long-term debt in the war but does not rule out borrowing from abroad.

Light Industries Minister Gholamreza Shafei highlighted the problem when he said his ministry had not received its foreign currency allocation eight months into the last fiscal year.

Heavy Industries Minister Behzad Nabavi said his budget for this coming year had halved in value from two years ago.

Iranian officials have hinted foreign currency earnings are being stored away in reserves against the possibility Iranian oil exports are cut off by Iraqi air attacks in the Gulf.

The war effort is only indirectly threatened by the foreign currency shortage because much is organized by cheap volunteer forces and backed by semi-voluntary donations.

A government-subsidized rationing system ensures that everybody gets a minimum amount of food, and consumers have not yet felt what businessmen say are severe shortages of paper, glass, plastics, spare parts and many other goods.

Superficially most things are obtainable — at a price.

Florists burst with all kinds of flowers, butchers have lots of meat and colourful markets are full of fruit and vegetables.

Iranians of all classes grumble about the high prices of non-rationed basic foods, but there is little sign of direct pressure on the government.

Businessmen point out that, while their factories may be shut now, the machinery is all still there.

Economic analysts say businessmen are even building new factories just to be in a good commercial position when the Gulf war ends and oil revenues start flowing again.

Diplomats point to Iran's huge future potential.

Iran can go on exporting oil at double present levels for more than 40 years and enjoys the world's second-largest reserves of natural gas after the Soviet Union.

Other under-exploited natural resources include large copper reserves, agricultural possibilities and a population of more than 43 million.

Iran has spent at least $13 billion abroad in the year just ended and still ranks high on the list of markets for several industrialized countries.

There are nevertheless a number of clouds hanging over the revival of the economy.

The clerical government is divided between a left-leaning, pro-public group and more conservative traditionalists. This has stalemated a dispute over the ownership of more than a third of Iran's factories and a fifth of agricultural land.

Analysts see prolonged war and shortage of foreign currency favouring the pro-public sector group, but the traditionalists have recently become more vocal.

Bureaucracy hampers activity and businessmen say an export permit may take six months.

Some 10,000 managers were sacked after the 1979 revolution and teaching the new generation, often without the extensive foreign assistance available before, has posed problems.

Former Interior Minister Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri told Resalat newspaper last month: "Whenever we allocate a budget we immediately write off 40 per cent as waste, because the lads must ... make a mess of something and build it again." —[redacted]

/12828
CSO: 4600/266

BRIEFS

STATEMENT ISSUED ON UN RESOLUTION, GULF--Following more than 2 years' silence, the UN Security Council has issued a statement strongly condemning Iraq for its use of chemical weapons against Iran. Following Iraq's condemnation by the UN Security Council in connection with that country's use of chemical weapons in the imposed war, a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphasizes: By issuing a resolution the Security Council should not consider its task as finished by merely issuing a statement and confining itself to one condemnation, but rather should, with all its capabilities, take steps to chastise the aggressor. Referring to the climate of opinion created by the United States intervention in the Persian Gulf, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' statement states: The Islamic Republic of Iran candidly proclaims that it does not recognize the right of the United States or any other country to intervene or foment sedition in the region under any pretext. The security of the Persian Gulf, from Iran's viewpoint, is a regional issue and the Gulf should be safeguarded by the countries of the region. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 22 Mar 86 LD] /6091

CSO: 4640/240

CRITICS OF COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY REBUKED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 28 Feb 86 p 11

[Article by Ibnul Hasan: "Your Attitude is Not Good"]

[Text] A very well-organized function was arranged by the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs at a large hotel in Karachi on 13 February. Important civic leaders were there as were a couple of writers like me. The tea was hot, sandwiches fresh and crisp, atomosphere friendly, guests eloquent and the topic of discussion: national security and foreign policy. Mr Zia, the president of our nation, was there to talk about this very important, and in my opinion rather disturbing, issue. People were eagerly waiting to hear it straight from the horse's mouth. Only this most important personage of our nation could tell about his policy and its execution, his decisions and other details.

It was only yesterday that this issue was discussed in the joint session of our Senate and the Assembly. Every body has heard or read about it via radio, television and newspaper. The foreign minister had fully explained the country's foreign policy to the two assemblies. The Parliament members had discussed all angles of the issue. The foreign minister had covered the whole issue very efficiently both in Urdu and English. It was a very well-delivered and succint presentation. There was logic and reasoning behind this speech. He recognized some facts and gave credit where it was due. After this debate any doubts about our foreign policy should have been obliterated and the well-informed crowd that had gathered to hear the President should not have been so eager. It did not happen, however. All those questions and suspicions that could be raised about this policy were still there and all the people present were eager to express them and see the reaction of the president. This meeting lasted for 3 hours with two worship breaks. The audience was emotional about the issue of our foreign policy. It indicated that the well-informed and literate segment of our nation is very biased and emotional about national and international affairs, territorial rights, current events and historical facts. This group bases its ideas on unproven "facts" and is not only proud of it but wants to be praised for this tendency!

This group thinks that the officials responsible for formulating and implementing our foreign policy are totally ignorant. For some reason they have decided that our foreign policy has been wrong for the last 38 years. At the same time, they consider India's foreign policy to be extremely successful. They also contradict themselves by admitting the expertise

of some of the people who were involved in implementing our foreign policy. They praise everyone from Sir Zaffar Allah Khan to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. At the same time they complain that our foreign policy has been ailing from day one. It is strange that they accept the existence of diplomacy and its success and still complain that our foreign policy is not what it should be! When asked what we should do, they simply answer that we should emulate the policy adopted by India. When further asked what India has gained from its foreign policy, they cite its stable democratic government, national identity of its people and acceptance by the world as an important nation. They believe that India's leaders are respected and welcomed internationally. India's stable democratic government has nothing to do with its foreign policy. Its people's national identity is the result of its ancient history. It is a big country and has a large population. These do not have anything to do with its foreign policy either. India's leaders are respected because of its political heritage. They are welcomed as they should be and they are also insulted when they should be. India has had its share of good and bad days. The superpowers have made India bleed whenever they wanted it to. India has had to face its maker whenever it was in trouble. However, it is claimed that India takes advantage of the United States and also milks the Soviet Union. It has good relations with the countries in Western Europe and is respected in Eastern Europe.

These people argue against the facts that we have also taken liberal advantage of the Soviet Union and the United States. We are doing all right in Western Europe and are respected in Eastern Europe. We have done very well if we keep in mind that we are only 38 years old and we are a small country. We have not done any worse than India. In response to this, they cite international interference in Pakistani affairs resulting in the loss of East Pakistan. In this context they forget the ineptness of Yahya Khan and his followers. They forget our national mood, our problems and our political upheavels. Every disappointment, every unfulfilled desire, social problems, political coalitions and personal problems are blamed on our foreign policy! False, unknown and unheard of "facts" are given in support of the failure of our foreign policy. A listener feels sorry for their intelligence while they think they are presenting a well-researched and proven theory.

It is commonly believed that Pakistan made a big mistake by establishing a close relationship with the United States. Some people even try to establish that it would have been better if we had antagonistic relations with the United States. They blame Pakistan for the cold attitude of the Soviet Union. Our present and deceased leaders are taken to task in this context even though it is clear that incidents detailed by these people are historically wrong. The "Russian lobby" cites "facts" that never happened just to make us feel guilty as a nation. They try to make it look as if there was not change in the international mood about colonies after World War II. They try to overlook how new nations evolved and developed. What conditions was India in when it became independent? How was Pakistan doing on the international level when it was created on 14 August as an independent nation? The world welcomed this small country with open arms. The United States of America, Europe, the Soviet Union and the Middle East countries were all begging for

relations with Pakistan! Pakistan chose to be friendly with the United States. This made other countries our enemies. There may have been some negative outcomes from this relationship, but those are negligible when compared to the benefits we received.

I do not have to support Khizar (the good prophet). Our problems, philosophy and life style are unique. There are other unique aspects of our nation. Let us examine our relationship with various countries. Let us take a look at our problems, our security needs and our limitations. What is special about these? Keeping these in view, what can we expect from other countries? Did we try to ask for what we wanted? It is not as simple as asking why we are friendly with the United States and not with the Soviet Union. We can ask why India is not as friendly with the United States as we are. Why is India not on good terms with China as a good neighbor should be? Why are we not as friendly as two neighbors in a subcontinent should be?

Now the question is on what basis should one be friendly. Why should we be friendly with the Soviet Union? Should we sacrifice friendly relations with other countries for creating good will with the Soviets? Can we meet Soviet demands? What sacrifices will we have to make to meet those demands? If the Soviets are sincere, what stops them from making friendly advances toward us? We are hearing even Wali Khan use the word Russia the way grandmothers use the word "wild cat" to scare little children to sleep. There can be nothing wrong with the present foreign policy of Pakistan if the Soviet Union is the kind of power that Wali Khan wants to invite in order to punish Pakistan. We are doing exactly what two-thirds of the world population and at least 122 free countries are doing. They know Russia for what it is. They do not think the Soviet Union is what Afghanistan thought it was before it got swallowed!

7997/12624
CSO: 4656/57

END